# CICERO'S CATO MAIOR DE SENECTUTE

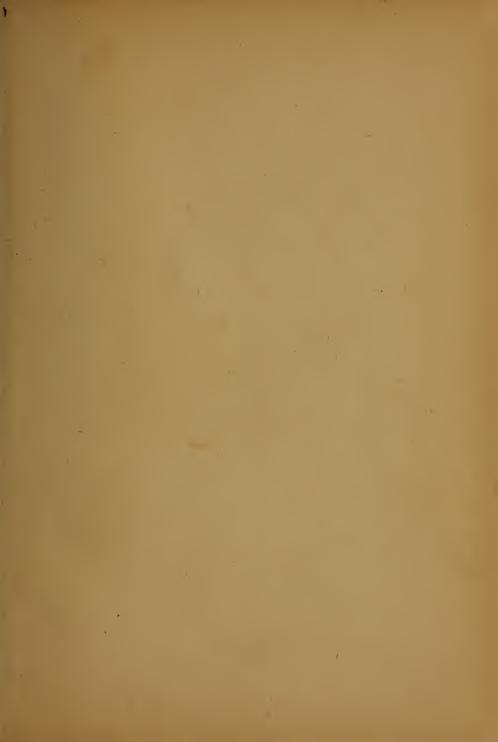
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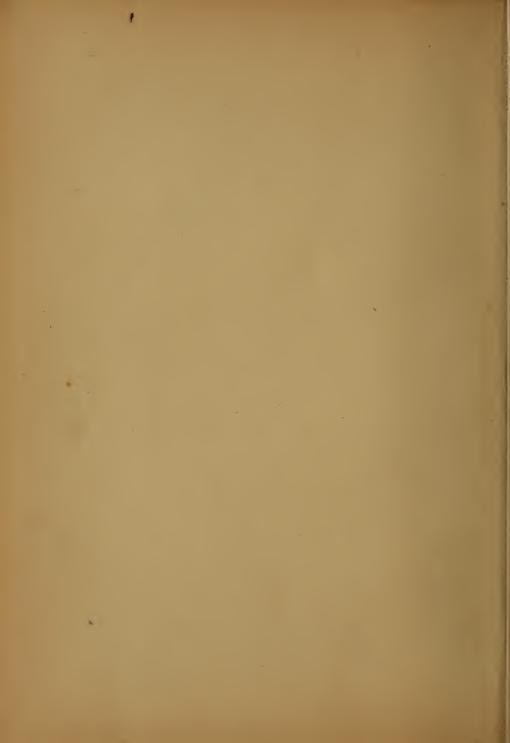
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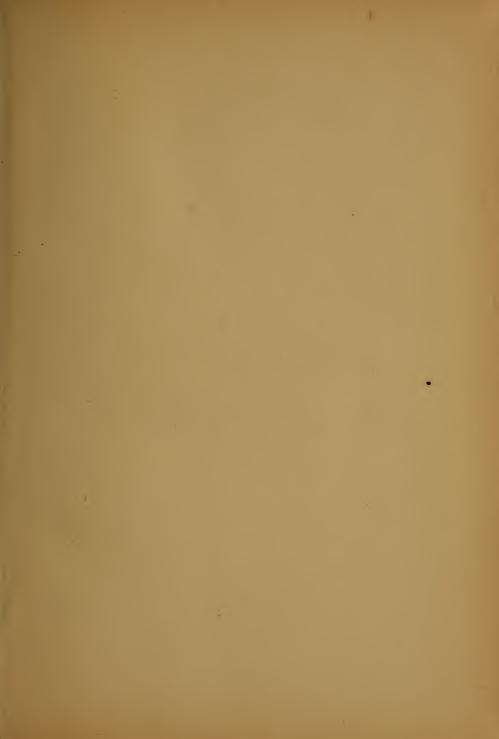
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# M. TULLI CICERONIS

# CATO MAIOR

# DE SENECTUTE

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

FRANK ERNEST ROCKWOOD, A.M.

PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN BUCKNELL UNIVERSITY



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ROCK. CIC. - DE SENEC.

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# PREFACE.

The text of this edition of *Cicero De Senectute* is substantially that of C. F. W. Müller (Leipsic, 1879). The few deviations from his reading are stated on p. 152, and discussed in the supplementary notes. A different punctuation has been adopted in some passages, and in a few words the orthography has been corrected to conform to Brambach.

The De Senectute is usually given a place in the early part of the college course, when training in the reading of the Latin is imperatively needed. To assist the student in acquiring greater accuracy in pronunciation, the long vowels in the text have been marked. In this Lewis has been taken as a guide, and both his Latin Dictionary for Schools and his Elementary Latin Dictionary have been consulted. It is earnestly hoped that this feature may be welcomed by teachers, and may prove to be of practical value. It must be remembered, however, that absolute accuracy in marking quantities is out of the question.

The Introduction has been made somewhat full in order to present, in convenient form, a sketch of Cicero's life, with a brief account of what he has accomplished in literature, and more especially in philosophy. In the preparation of the sections which bear upon his standing as a philosopher and his relation to the leading schools, Mayor's admirable Sketch of Greek Philosophy has been very helpful.

Cicero's defense of old age is so charming in style and so interesting in subject-matter that it deserves something more by way of commentary than mere discussion of grammatical and linguistic usage. Accordingly an attempt has been made in the illustrative notes, on the pages with the text, to give sufficient prominence to the historical and literary features of the essay, and to show by numerous quotations what ancient and modern authors have uttered like thoughts, couched in similar forms of expression. In numerous cases it will be seen that there is something more than a mere similarity of thought and expression. Without doubt many modern writers have drawn their inspiration direct from the lofty sentiments of Cicero's essay, and thus the student is introduced to a very interesting and important literary study of the great master of Latin prose. If this portion of the work shall prove suggestive and stimulating, it will accomplish its intended purpose.

In the supplementary notes a large number of grammatical references have been given, and whatever assistance seemed necessary in the translation of difficult passages, together with brief discussions of disputed readings. For convenience of reference an index to the notes and an index of proper names have been added.

In the preparation of this edition many works have been consulted. The most assistance has been received from the editions of Lemaire, Tischer, Lahmeyer, Sommerbrodt, Meissner, and Reid. My thanks are especially due to the editors of the American Book Company, who have made many valuable suggestions, and who have greatly lightened the labor of taking these pages through the press.

FRANK E. ROCKWOOD.

BUCKNELL UNIVERSITY, December, 1894.

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# GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

#### LIFE OF CICERO.

- 1. Introduction.—Cicero must be regarded as essentially a man of letters. Whatever strength or weakness he may have manifested in public life, he undoubtedly forms the central figure in Roman literature. His matchless style, his rich and varied learning, and his wonderful powers of application easily made him the foremost writer of Latin prose. To the student hitherto acquainted with Cicero only through his orations and letters, he is revealed in a new character in the light of his ethical and philosophical works. For a just appreciation of the latter, a brief review of the author's life and studies will be eminently helpful.
- 2. Early Life and Education. Marcus Tullius Cicero was born at Arpinum in Latium, 106 B.C. His father belonged to the equestrian order and was well qualified by learning and culture to direct the training of the future orator and student of philosophy. The young Marcus, with his brother Quintus, was early taken to Rome to receive the best instruction which the capital had to offer. Among his teachers were the poet Archias, the famous lawyers of the Scaevola family, Phaedrus the Epicurean philosopher, Philo of the New Academy, Diodotus the Stoic, and Molo the rhetorician.

Cicero was especially fond of Greek literature and philosophy, and gained from these sources the elegance of expression and wealth of illustration so abundantly displayed in his maturer works. To oratory and law he devoted himself with the utmost eagerness, both from his natural fondness for these subjects, and because he saw the possibility of winning by eloquence and skill as an advocate the leadership in Rome which others had acquired through valor and success on the field of battle. A brief experience in military affairs, however, formed part of his early training, for at the age of seventeen he served through one campaign in the Social War.

Cicero's genuine enthusiasm in his studies prompted him to tireless activity in their pursuit and to the adoption of the most thorough and practical methods known to his day. Actors, orators, rhetoricians, and philosophers were his teachers. The principles of their instruction he put in practice in declamation, debate, and composition, in both Greek and Latin. The success of his later years was no mere accident, nor was it the manifestation of brilliant genius, untrained and untaught,—it was rather the natural result of the most painstaking and persistent toil. The whole soul of the man was aglow with the fire of learning. Every opportunity to secure enlarged intellectual growth and development was eagerly seized.

In the school, the lecture-room, the courts, and the Forum he was an interested observer and an eager learner. Books and men, history and life, were the objects of his study. Whatever he acquired he tested for himself and used for the enlightenment of his fellows, always actuated by an irresistible desire to obtain the clear light of truth and to illumine others with its brightness. Like his rival for the palm of eloquence among the ancients, the renowned orator of the Greeks, he succeeded chiefly by his remarkable application to work and his untiring effort to realize a high ideal. Of the two masters of forensic speech, Cicero was the broader intellectually, while Demosthenes was more impressive as a speaker, carrying conviction ofttimes as much by the weight of his character as by the force of his words.

- 3. First Appearance as an Advocate. Cicero did not yield to any boyish temptation to display his immature talents for the sake of winning temporary applause, but chose rather to bide his time and offer himself as a candidate for popular favor only after rigorous training and long-continued study. Accordingly, he was twenty-five when he appeared as an advocate in behalf of P. Quinctius, and a year older when he won great applause by his bold defense of Sex. Roscius, who had been accused of parricide by a freedman of the dictator Sulla. It was not precocity of talent, but disciplined strength and conscious power that gave him the victor's laurels at the very beginning of his career. Too intense application to literary pursuits, however, somewhat impaired his health, and consequently, in 79 B.C., he followed the advice of friends, and sought rest and recuperation in Greece and the East. While in quest of bodily strength he improved every opportunity to hear the best teachers in Athens, Rhodes, and Asia Minor; and after an absence of two years returned to Rome in renewed physical vigor, more proficient in the orator's art, and with a mind richly stored with the fruits of study and travel. All rivals in the race for fame were speedily distanced, and he became the acknowledged leader of the Roman bar, the most eloquent orator of his age.
- 4. Public Offices. Public honors were heaped upon the rising advocate in generous profusion. In due order of time, he held the offices of quaestor, aedile, praetor, and consul, each at the earliest age permitted by law. His learning, eloquence, devotion to duty, personal integrity, and above all, his unbounded patriotism, ensured him marked success in every public station which he was called upon to occupy. During his consulship the liberties of Rome and the very existence of the government were jeopardized by the conspiracy of Catiline, Cicero's defeated rival for the highest honor in the gift of the citizens. But by the vigilance of the consul the plot was detected, and its full extent and purpose were made known to the senate. Many of the leaders were

arrested in the city and put to death, and Catiline himself, forced to fly for safety, was afterwards defeated and slain, while attempting to gain by open war what he had hoped to accomplish by assassination and secret plotting.

5. Cicero in Exile. — In the year 58 B.C., came the first serious blow to Cicero's hopes and ambitions. Up to this time his success had been brilliant in the extreme. Born in a provincial town, without distinguished ancestors, he had made his way by the force of his intellect and the persuasive power of his eloquence to the highest pinnacle of political renown. In return for his courage and patriotic devotion in the hour of Rome's impending danger, he had been hailed by his grateful fellow-citizens as the savior of his country. But Clodius, an unprincipled noble, enraged at Cicero for testifying against him when on trial for attending the festival of the Bona Dea at Caesar's house, secured adoption into a plebeian family for the sole purpose that he might be elected tribune and bring about Cicero's banishment. Installed in office, he obtained the passage of a law ordaining exile for any one who had ordered the death of a Roman citizen without due form of legal trial. This was aimed directly at Cicero, who had caused Lentulus, Cethegus, and others of the Catilinarian conspirators to be put to death in prison. From March, 58, to August, 57, B.C., the ex-consul dragged out a wretched existence as an exile in Greece, forbidden on pain of death to approach within five hundred miles of Rome. The calamity was severer than he could Discouraged and well-nigh broken-hearted, he gave himself up to grief and bitter repining.

But at last the efforts of friends to procure his recall were successful. The homeward journey from Brundisium to Rome was one continuous ovation. From all sides the people flocked to greet him and accompany him on his way to the capital, until his final entry to the city was like the triumph of a returning conqueror. For the time, the multitude recalled with gratitude his former services, and welcomed him back with distinguished

honor to the city which he had once saved from traitors' hands.

6. Proconsul in Cilicia. — A law was passed in Pompey's third consulship restricting the government of foreign provinces to praetors and consuls who had been at least five years out of office. To fill vacancies immediately occurring, appointments were made by lot from those not debarred by the new law. To Cicero's intense disgust his name came forth from the urn for the proconsulship of Cilicia. His administration, however, was marked by the same energy and integrity that had characterized his conduct in more acceptable official positions. Though he reluctantly laid aside his studies to enter upon the less congenial duties of provincial governor, yet his course was marked with such intelligence and justice that all classes and orders coming under his rule looked upon him as an upright judge and a faithful protector of his people.

Even success in arms was added to his victories of peace, and he was hailed by his soldiers with the title of *imperator*. Encouraged by this, Cicero seemed at last to catch the true spirit of a soldier and looked with longing eyes toward that goal of every Roman general's ambition, the splendid honor of a triumph. The commendable record made by him in his new, and not altogether pleasing, field of labor, may be taken as a clear indication of his breadth of character, and as ample proof of the wonderful power there is in simple honesty of purpose and unfaltering industry to make one successful, even under the most unfavorable circumstances.

7. Position in the Civil War. — That portion of Cicero's life which immediately followed his return to Rome, in January, 49 B.C., was probably marked by more doubt and perplexity than any other period in his entire history. Certainly his course during those eventful months has given his admirers in all ages but little unalloyed satisfaction. Caesar and Pompey were contending for supremacy. Civil war with its attendant horrors

was about to break forth. Cicero's ideal was the old Republic. It was impossible for him to turn with enthusiasm and hope either to Caesar or to Pompey. The course which he adopted seems weak and vacillating because he was compelled to choose between two evils and found it exceedingly difficult to decide which was the less. He was undoubtedly mistaken in judgment on many points, and blind to the true condition of the times. He failed to realize that the former order of things had irrevocably changed, that old forms of government had lost their force, and that, unless there should be a complete regeneration of the Roman people, only the strong hand of a master could give peace and stability to the government. For a long time weak and irresolute in the face of the most distressing doubt and uncertainty, he at length cast his fortunes with Pompey, only, however, to regret his choice when he realized how vain his hope had been that this much overrated man and inefficient leader could restore the dignity of the senate and the majesty of the Republic.

After the crushing defeat of the senatorial army at Pharsalus and the subsequent flight and death of its commander, Cicero vielded to the inevitable and accepted the clemency of the conqueror, who, whatever else may be said of him, was generous to his foes. Fortunate it was for his countrymen and for us, that Cicero's patriotism was not of that narrow, rigid sort which impelled Cato of Utica to look upon death as a welcome relief from the supremacy of one man. Cicero was indeed cast in a nobler mold and fashioned of diviner stuff. He possessed more of the scholar's spirit and a larger measure of the philosopher's consolation and hope. Withdrawing from public gaze, he found solace in the contemplation of truth and inspiration in the ennobling pursuit of letters. Devoting himself in this time of political distress and confusion to the composition of his noblest works, he brought forth the ripened fruit of years of laborious study, and handed down to the scholars of all time the priceless

inheritance of his most earnest philosophical discussions and his loftiest ethical teachings.

8. Opposition to Antony. — But Cicero was not destined to close his life in the peaceful retirement of the scholar. Still stormier scenes awaited him than any through which he had yet The murder of Caesar on the Ides of March, 44 B.C., was but the renewal of strife and bloodshed that were destined to end only with the founding of the new Empire. Cicero's first impulse was to seek personal safety in Greece; but though he commenced the journey, he quickly changed his course and repaired to Rome in the earnest belief that the senatorial party would ultimately prevail. The closing year of his life was filled with stirring events. He became the leader of the senate and people, and bent all his energies to the establishment of peace on a secure basis and the rehabilitation of the government on its former lines. Looking upon Antony as a dangerous foe to the state, he attacked him in those fiery invectives known as the Philippics. But the temporary success of the consuls over Antony at Mutina and the ceaseless efforts which Cicero made to strengthen the hands of the constitutional party in the city and provinces failed to revive the ancient spirit and to restore the liberties of the people.

Octavianus, at the head of his legions, forced his own election to the consulship, although but nineteen years of age, and then, uniting with Antony and Lepidus in the formation of the second triumvirate, shattered the hopes of all who had fondly dreamed that the golden age of the Republic was about to return. The current was, in fact, setting in the other direction, and a stronger arm and stouter heart than Cicero's would have been powerless before it. Complete success for the three self-appointed lords of Rome was possible only by the destruction of their personal foes and the death of every leader of the opposition. Accordingly, the proscription of Sulla was renewed, and Cicero's name was placed by Antony's command on the list of those to be destroyed.

9. Cicero's Death. — Cicero's only safety from impending fate now lay in immediate flight. Hastening from his Tusculan villa to Astura, he embarked on board a vessel bound for Macedonia. but overcome with anguish at the thought of leaving Italy forever. he ordered the ship's prow turned toward the land. Delaying for a little time at Circeii, he again set out on his journey by sea, only to yield once more to his fatal irresolution, or to his overmastering love for his native country, even though delay within its borders meant certain death. The soldiers found him at his Formian villa attended by his faithful slaves, who were vainly urging him to make a final effort to escape by sea from the hands of his bloodthirsty enemies. Overtaken by his pursuers under command of Popilius Laenas, whom he had once defended on a capital charge, Cicero met death calmly and courageously, addressing his executioner in these words, "Here, veteran! if you think it right - strike!" The orator's head and hands were carried to Antony and afterwards nailed to the rostra, the scene of his former triumphs. Antony's wife, who was, at the time of her marriage to him, the widow of Clodius, pierced the tongue of the murdered man with a bodkin, that she might show the malignity of her hate and the keenness of her delight that the tongue which had lashed with cutting satire her two base and unprincipled husbands had been forever silenced.

Thus perished Cicero, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, after a life varied by brilliant successes and overwhelming defeats, at one time the foremost man in Rome, at last hunted to death like a condemned criminal. It is equal folly either to bestow upon him unlimited praise or to subject him, as some have done, to merciless criticism. We must view him in the light of his own time, and measure him according to the standard of his own age. In this way the good in his life will be seen vastly to outweigh the evil. None can question his patriotism, his desire to aid his country and preserve what he believed to be her best traditions. His utter inability to stay the course of Caesar

in his ambitious struggle for absolute power, and his impotency in the presence of an unscrupulous tyrant like Antony, were as clearly apparent to Cicero himself as they can now be to any of his detractors.

10. Service to Literature. — But it is to his work in the realm of letters that we can turn with the greatest satisfaction. As an orator he is without a peer in the annals of Rome and second in the whole world. In literature and philosophy he has fulfilled the words of Horace, and "reared a monument more enduring than bronze, loftier than the pyramids, those moldering relics of old kings." To estimate his services to the Latin tongue would be indeed a difficult task. Subsequent writers found in him a model of elegance and good taste. If we could annihilate his influence upon Roman letters, blot his own works out of existence, and close forever their rich storehouse of history, literature, and philosophy, we might gain by way of contrast some conception of the service he rendered his age and the real value of the contribution he made to the world's literature. But in modern times we are under greatest obligation to Cicero for bringing to our knowledge, through the medium of his own works, the highest conclusions, embodied in the teachings and speculations of Greek philosophy, reached by the human intellect alone, in its attempt to determine the duty and destiny of man.

#### TABLE OF CICERO'S LIFE.

3.C.		AGE.
106.	Cicero was born, Jan. 3. Pompey was born in the same year.	
100.	The birth of Caesar.	6
90.	Cicero assumed the toga virilis, and studied law under Q. Mucius	16
	Scaevola, the Augur. Beginning of the Social War.	
89.	Served as a soldier under Pompeius Strabo, the father of Pom-	17
	pey the Great.	
88.	Heard Philo and Molo at Rome. End of the Social War.	18
86.	Death of Marius.	20
82.	Sulla made perpetual Dictator.	24
81.	Cicero appeared as an advocate in behalf of P. Quinctius.	25

B.C.	Defended the Devictor in a minimal total	AGE.
80.	Defended Sex. Roseius in a criminal trial.	$\frac{26}{27}$
19.	Visited Athens. Studied philosophy under Antiochus the Academician, and Zeno and Phaedrus the Epicureans;	21
	rhetoric and oratory under Demetrius of Syria.	
70	Traveled in Asia Minor. Studied under Molo at Rhodes.	28
	Cicero returned to Rome. Married Terentia. Resumed his	$\frac{20}{29}$
11.	law practice.	20
	Quaestor in Sicily.	31
	Returned to Rome.	32
70.	Consulship of Pompey and Crassus. Cicero conducted the impeachment of Verres. Birth of Vergil.	36
69.	Cicero, Curule Aedile.	37
66.	Cicero, Praetor. He delivered his oration in favor of the	40
	Manilian Law, by which the command against Mithridates	
	was given to Pompey.	
65.	Cicero declined the government of a province. Birth of	41
	Horace.	
63.	Consul, with C. Antonius. He suppressed the conspiracy of	43
	Catiline.	
62.	Return of Pompey from the East. Cicero spoke in behalf of	44
	the poet Archias.	
	Trial of Clodius.	45
	Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus formed the first triumvirate.	46
	Livy was born in 59 or 57 B.C. Caesar, Consul.	47
58.	Caesar went to Gaul as Proconsul for five years. Cicero went	48
	into exile, going first to Dyrrachium and then to Thessa-	
~	lonica.	4.0
	Cicero was recalled from exile by a vote of the people.	49
ээ.	Cicero wrote his De Oratore. Caesar's command in Gaul	51
5.4	extended for five years.  Cicero wrote the <i>De Republica</i> .	52
		58 58
	Cicero, Augur. Defeat and death of Crassus in the East. Cicero defended Milo, who had been accused of the murder of	54 54
04.	Clodius. Probably wrote his De Legibus in this year.	99
51	Proconsul in Cilicia.	55
	Returned to Rome. Civil War between Caesar and Pompey.	57
10.	Caesar crossed the Rubicon and advanced upon Rome.	01

- Pompey and his adherents fled. In June, Cicero left Italy and joined Pompey in Greece. Caesar made Dictator.
- 48. Caesar defeated Pompey at Pharsalus. Cicero, who was not 58 present at the battle, returned to Italy. The Alexandrine War.
- 47. Meeting and reconciliation of Caesar and Cicero at Brundisium. 59
  Cicero returned to Rome.
- 46. Caesar's victory at Thapsus in Africa. Caesar made Dictator 60 for ten years; in 44 B.C. for life. Cicero wrote his *Brutus* and his *Orator*.
- 45. Cicero divorced Terentia and married a young ward named 61 Publilia. Death of his daughter Tullia. In this year he completed several of his important works: Academicae Quaestiones, De Finibus, Tusculanae Disputationes. Caesar gained the battle of Munda in Spain and returned to Rome.
- 44. Caesar was assassinated on the 15th of March. Cicero wrote 62 his *De Natura Deorum*, *De Divinatione*, *De Officiis*, *De Senectute*, *De Amicitia*. Delivered the first, third, and fourth Philippics (the second was never delivered).
- 43. Cicero delivered Philippics V.-XIV. Antony, Lepidus, and 63
  Octavianus formed the second triumvirate. Proscription.
  Murder of Cicero, by order of Antony, Dec. 7.

#### CICERO AS A PHILOSOPHER.

11. Greek Philosophy.—Among pre-Socratic philosophers the origin of the universe was the chief subject of investigation and theorizing. Thales of Miletus, who flourished about 600 B.C. and founded the Ionic school, first sought to explain the mysteries of nature in a scientific manner. Influenced, perhaps, by Homer and his account of Oceanus, he ascribed the origin of things to water. Various theories were advanced by his successors in their attempts to solve the same problem. Anaximander found the beginning of things in "indeterminate matter"; Anaximines, in "air"; and Heraclitus, in "fire." Pythagoras of Samos, who settled at Crotona in Italy in 529 B.C. and founded the Italic school of philosophy, held that the key of the universe was to be found, not in material substance, but in "number and proportion."

After a century or more of such fruitless speculation and vague discussion and theorizing, a natural reaction occurred, and the Sophists appeared upon the stage. Protesting against such profitless use of mental energy, they boldly declared their scepticism in regard to absolute truth, and sought to turn logic and philosophy to practical account in acquiring wealth and distinction for themselves. But a more important advance was made in the history of man's intellectual development by the advent in the philosophical world of Socrates (469–399 B.C.), who furnished inspiration, directly or indirectly, to all later schools of Greek thought. His appearance marked the dawn of a new era. It was his special mission to turn men's thoughts from physical to ethical truth, from the solution of the problem of the universe to the determination of man's destiny.

- 12. Schools of Philosophy in Cicero's Time. In Cicero's time there were four leading schools of philosophy, the Academic, Peripatetic, Stoic, and Epicurean. The first owed its foundation to Plato, the pupil of Socrates, and received its name from the grove of Academus, where its founder lectured. In its historical development it was known successively as the Old, Middle, and New Academy. Aristotle, famous alike as the pupil of Plato and teacher of Alexander, discoursed on philosophy in the Lyceum at Athens, receiving the name of Peripatetic from his habit of walking while he lectured. But with the national decline of the Greeks and the waning influence of their religion, there was urgent need of some strong principle, or noble inspiration, to prevent men from relapsing into doubt and despondency. Zeno the Stoic, who taught in a painted porch, or stoa, began in 308 B.C. to proclaim the new philosophy, designed to meet this special want, and boldly asserted that man's highest duty consists in living in accordance with nature. Only a few years later, Epicurus appeared in his garden in Athens as the expounder of still another doctrine whose special object it was to liberate men from all groundless fears and enable them to live happy and contented lives. According to the distinctive tenet of this system, pleasure is the highest good; it should be remembered, however, that the term as used by Epicurus signified pleasure in its purest and best sense.
- 13. Standing as a Philosopher. Cicero was personally acquainted with the leading representatives in his day of the four great schools, the Academy, the Lyceum, the Porch, and the Garden. Besides receiving

instruction from the most eminent expounders of the doctrines of these schools, he had roamed over the whole field of Greek philosophy and made himself familiar with all that had been accomplished in this department of intellectual activity. In spite of his fondness for the subject, however, he was not an original thinker, nor did he attempt to establish a system or found a school of his own. His mission lay in making known to his countrymen what had been wrought out by the Greeks. Taking their works as a basis and adapting them to Roman needs, he discussed, in popular style, the vital questions pertaining to man's existence, and laid down principles of action and rules of conduct which approach very closely at many points to the highest Christian standard.

So far as adherence to any system is concerned, Cicero was an independent, or more correctly, an eclectic. In speculative philosophy he accepted the doctrine of the New Academy, which holds a high degree of probability as alone attainable in human knowledge, regarding absolute certainty as beyond the domain of man's reason. In ethics he agreed with the Stoics and Peripatetics on their common ground: that virtue is the highest good, and that life in accordance with nature or right reason, is the perfection of duty. In his view of external good, he wavered between the severe logic of the Stoics, who affirmed that it was a matter of indifference, and the less dogmatic reasoning of the Peripatetics, who ascribed some value and importance to it, while holding that it must never be made the sole object of man's desire. Epicureanism received no favor at the hands of Cicero. Its passive doctrines of ease and contentment could have no charm for one who found his greatest enjoyment, either in the varied excitement and manifold duties of public office, or in the most intense intellectual activity.

Cicero's independence and eclecticism led him to expound and compare opposing views and conflicting systems. This fact has resulted greatly to our advantage in enlarging our horizon and making us acquainted with much in the history of philosophy that must otherwise have remained unknown to us. The value of his achievements in this particular to the Romans can hardly be overestimated. To them he disclosed the choicest treasures and the most ennobling products of Greek thought, and made intelligible by translation, by definition, and practical illustration, truths and sentiments to which they had hitherto been strangers.

#### CICERO'S WORKS.

- 14. Orations. Fifty-seven orations ascribed to Cicero are now extant, of which some are incomplete, and four or five may possibly be spurious. We have fragments of about twenty more, and know the titles of thirty-three others.
- 15. Letters. More than eight hundred of Cicero's letters have been preserved. These are divided as follows:—

Epistulae ad Familiares, 16 Books. Epistulae ad Atticum, 16 Books. Epistulae ad Quintum Fratrem, 3 Books. Epistulae ad M. Brutur, 2 Books.

- 16. Poems. Only fragments of Cicero's poetical works remain. These give evidence of skill in versification, but are lacking in poetic inspiration. Most of them belong to his earlier years; they were often mere youthful exercises, or translations from the Greek. Cicero wrote a metrical account of his own consulship, in three books, of which about eighty lines are still preserved. He also wrote a poem entitled *De Meis Temporibus*, supposed to have been a continuation of the poem on his consulship.
- 17. Philosophical Works. The following arrangement has been adapted from Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography.

# A. Rhetorical.

De Inventione Rhetorica, 2 Books.

De Oratore, 3 Books.

De Claris Oratoribus (Brutus).

Orator.

De Partitione Oratoria.

Topica.

De Optimo Genere Oratorum.

[Rhetorica (Ad Herennium, Incertis Auctoris), 4 Books.]

#### B. Political.

De Republica, 6 Books. (Fragments.)
De Legibus, 3 Books.

#### C. Ethical.

De Officiis, 3 Books.

De Senectute (Cato Maior).

De Amicitia (Laelius).

De Gloria, 2 Books. (Now lost.)

De Consolatione. (Fragments.)

## D. Speculative.

Academicae Quaestiones, 2 Books.

De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum, 5 Books.

Tusculanae Disputationes, 5 Books.

Paradoxa.

De Philosophia (Hortensius). (Fragments.)

Timaeus ex Platone.

# E. Theological.

De Natura Deorum, 3 Books.

De Divinatione, 2 Books.

De Fato. (Fragment.)

#### BOOKS OF REFERENCE.

For a fuller account of the life and works of Cicero, the reader is referred to the following books:

#### 18. Lives of Cicero.

ABEKEN: Life and Letters. Translated by Merivale.

FORSYTH: Life of Cicero.

MIDDLETON: Life of Cicero (last ed. Edinburgh, 1887). SMITH'S Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography, Cicero.

TROLLOPE: Life of Cicero.

WATSON: Select Letters of Cicero.

For ancient authorities, and for Latin versions of Cicero's life made up of extracts from his works, see *Smith's Dictionary* (cited above), Vol. I., p. 718.

Abeken's Cicero in seinen Briefen, Hanover, 1835, the original of Merivale's translation, is a standard work. Forsyth's life is the best.

It is favorable to Cicero, but not blindly partisan. Middleton's book is old and highly eulogistic, but not without merit. Smith's dictionary contains an interesting sketch of the orator, together with a complete list of his works. The article is especially convenient for reference. Trollope's life is attractive in style, and bold in Cicero's defense. It brings out his personal characteristics in a vivid manner. Watson's edition of select letters includes useful tables, introductions, and discussions. It is a valuable help to the study of Cicero's life as revealed in his correspondence.

# 19. Histories, containing Accounts of Cicero and His Times.

LEIGHTON: History of Rome. LIDDELL: History of Rome.

MERIVALE: History of the Romans under the Empire.

MERIVALE: The Roman Triumvirates.

MOMMSEN: History of Rome.

NIEBUHR: Lectures on the History of Rome.

Leighton's history is well written and ambitious in plan. It is well supplied with convenient summaries and illustrative material. Liddell has long maintained its hold on popular favor. The author seeks to treat Cicero fairly. Merivale's larger work is a recognized authority on the history of Rome from the fall of the Republic to the age of the Antonines. The Roman Triumvirates is a smaller work of the same author. Merivale gives due prominence to Cicero and recognizes his strong as well as weak points. Mommsen's history is devoted to the growth and development of the State. It is a work of great value, but its conclusions are sometimes based upon speculation and not upon well-established evidence. Mommsen is exceedingly harsh in his treatment of Cicero. Niebuhr's Rome marked an epoch in historical studies. It was an attempt to demolish the old record and construct a new one. The lectures were published after his death from fragmentary notes, and are of less importance than the history.

## 20. Works on Roman Literature.

Bender: Brief History of Roman Literature. Translated by Crowell and Richardson.

CRUTTWELL: History of Roman Literature. SIMCOX: History of Roman Literature. TEUFFEL: History of Roman Literature. English translation.

WILKINS: Primer of Roman Literature.

Bender's history and Wilkins's primer are brief but well written compendiums, designed to give the student an outline of Roman literature. The works of Cruttwell and Simcox, the latter in two volumes, are much broader in scope and better suited to the wants of the general reader. Cruttwell's is a good handbook; Simcox is more profound and scholarly. Teuffel's history, in two volumes, is especially valuable for reference. It contains an immense amount of material and is absolutely indispensable to the scholar, but is not intended for general reading.

# 21. Histories of Philosophy.

BUTLER: Lectures on the History of Ancient Philosophy.

MAYOR: Sketch of Ancient Philosophy.
RITTER: History of Ancient Philosophy.

Schwegler: History of Philosophy. Translated by Seelye. Zeller: Greek Philosophy. Translated by Evelyn Abbott.

ZELLER: The Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics. Translated by Reichel.

UEBERWEG: History of Philosophy. Translated by Morris.

Butler's lectures contain a readable exposition of the principles of Greek philosophy, together with accounts of the different schools and their founders. Mayor's sketch is excellent for a brief presentation. Ritter's history is a comprehensive work, invaluable for reference. The author gives a minute statement of Cicero's philosophy, and points out clearly the nature and value of the service rendered by him to Roman thought. Schwegler is clear in the statement of general principles, but not very thorough in the discussion of doctrines. Zeller shows the results of critical research and accurate scholarship. Morris's translation of Ueberweg, with additions by Porter, is, perhaps, superior in practical value to any other history of philosophy. Its bibliographical information is an important feature.

#### 22. Miscellaneous Books.

BEESLY: Catiline, Clodius, and Tiberius.

Boissier: Cicéron et ses Amis.

Church: Roman Life in the Days of Cicero.

COLLINS: Cicero (Ancient Classics for English Readers).

Dyer: The City of Rome.

FOWLER: Julius Caesar (Heroes of the Nations).

FROUDE: Caesar.

Landor: Imaginary Conversation between Cicero and his Brother.

LORD: The Old Roman World.

Napoleon III.: History of Julius Caesar.

Montesquieu: Grandeur and Decadence of the Romans.

A Greek version of the *De Senectute* was prepared by Theo. Gaza, Basel, 1524; edited by Hess, Halle, 1833.

Sir John Denham (1615–1668) published a metrical version in English. Beesly's work, a collection of review essays, contains a severe arraignment of Cicero. Boissier gives a charming account of Cicero and his friends. The works of Church and Collins are popular in character, the latter designed especially for those who cannot read Latin. Dyer describes in brief compass the growth and development of the city, and relates the story of its famous monuments. Fowler's Caesar is an entertaining sketch prepared for the general reader. It sets forth Cicero's relations with Caesar. Froude regards Caesar as the one man for his time, and looks upon Cicero as a strange mixture of strength and weakness. Landor's imaginary conversations, after the manner of Plato, give one a familiar acquaintance with the personages involved. Lord's book is in popular vein, entertaining in matter and style. Napoleon III. made an elaborate attempt to defend Caesar. Montesquieu's is an old but valuable work.

The lists given above are not intended to be complete, but simply suggestive.

#### THE DE SENECTUTE.

- 23. Time of Composition. It is impossible to fix the date of the De Senectute with absolute certainty. Slight hints in the essay itself and allusions in Cicero's letters lead us to believe that it was completed a few weeks after the death of Caesar. It may be assigned, therefore, with some degree of positiveness to April, 44 B.c. At all events, it belongs to the closing period of the author's life, when amid many disappointments and discouragements he manifested his greatest literary activity. The existing political conditions had compelled Cicero to withdraw from public affairs and seek consolation in philosophy. The death of his daughter Tullia, to whom he was devotedly attached. had filled his heart with lasting sorrow. It is not strange, then, that, bowed down as he was by personal grief, and distressed by the appalling calamities of the state, he turned his thoughts to the subject of Old Age. As the increasing weight of years rested more and more heavily upon him, it was but natural that he should reflect upon approaching death, and dwell with eager anticipation on the possibility of rejoining his loved ones in that spirit world, where he hoped also to meet and know the great and good of all ages and lands.
- 24. Plan of the Work.—Cicero represents Cato the Elder as setting forth the compensations and advantages of Old Age at the earnest solicitation of his young friends, Laelius and Scipio. Dialogue was a common form of literary presentation among the Greeks, and had already been made familiar to the Romans. Cicero, however, did not employ the Socratic method found in Plato's works, with its frequent interchange of question and answer, but chose rather the Aristotelian plan, a complete exposition of the subject by one leading speaker, with very few interruptions on the part of the listeners. In this way the author, through the medium of an appropriate historical character, publishes his own beliefs and gives them a touch of real life. To

the reader, the ideas advanced seem to flow from the actual experience of the speaker. No other method so successfully combines careful, accurate statement, on the one hand, with vividness, personal force, and dramatic action on the other. Cicero himself bears witness to its effectiveness: "Accordingly while reading my own words, I am at times so much affected that I think Cato and not myself speaking" (De Am. I. 4).

The scene of the imaginary dialogue is laid at the home of Cato, 150 B.C. Scipio and Laelius are supposed to pay a visit to the Censor and express their admiration of the manner in which he bears old age. Cato was at that time eighty-four and still remarkable for his physical and intellectual vigor. He was a representative Roman of the old school, a type of the men who subdued Italy and prepared the way for the conquest of the world. Scipio and Laelius belonged to a younger generation; their life-work was still before them. They might well be supposed to realize their responsibility in view of the opportunities opening before them, and feel anxious to learn what course they should pursue to reach such an honorable and enjoyable old age as that which had crowned Cato's long and active life.

25. Dedication to Atticus. — Cicero dedicated his De Senectute, and also the De Amicitia, later, to Titus Pomponius Atticus, as a tribute of respect to a lifelong friend. Their acquaintance began in boyhood, when they were schoolmates, and grew with advancing years into a strong and abiding attachment. Atticus, inheriting great wealth and preferring a life of refinement and leisure to the cares of public office, withdrew from the turmoil and danger consequent upon the unsettled condition of the Roman state, and resided for many years in Greece. This gave him abundant opportunity to pursue his studies and to try his hand as publisher, author, and literary critic, in the last of which rôles, especially, he displayed talent of no mean order. The experience thus gained, combined with an amiable disposition and refined character, made him a congenial companion for Cicero,

while his excellent judgment and scholarly taste enabled him to assist his friend with practical suggestions and wise criticisms. When the *De Senectute* was completed, Atticus had already reached the age of sixty-five. It was eminently fitting, therefore, that Cicero should inscribe his essay on Old Age to him, and bestow this mark of honor upon a friend of such long standing, upon one, in fact, who had been alike the sharer of his youthful joys and the trusted companion of his riper age. It was Atticus' fortune, as the sequel proved, to survive the author ten years and test in his own experience the ingenious reasoning employed by his friend in his charming defense of life's declining years.

- 26. Greek Sources. In the composition of the De Senectute, Cicero occasionally borrowed from Plato's Republic and Xenophon's Occonomicus and Cyropaedia. The arguments which he gives for the immortality of the soul he simply repeats in substance from the works of Plato. An allusion in the first chapter to Aristo of Ceos certainly indicates that he was acquainted with a treatise on Old Age by that author. But whether he drew from this to any great extent or not we are unable to determine, for Aristo's work has not come down to us. Cicero makes no attempt to conceal his indebtedness to the Greeks. On the other hand, he frequently mentions his authorities for the purpose of strengthening and enforcing his point. In dealing with the originals he sometimes follows the text closely, and sometimes translates with greater freedom, often varying the minor features of an illustration in order to give it a more pronounced Roman coloring.
- 27. Literary Character. As a literary production the *De Senectute* has deserved and won the highest praise. Cicero was preëminently a master of style, and in this treatise, in the composition of which he evidently took genuine delight, we see him at his best. The dialogue form made lively, animated discourse, easy of attainment, while the special line of argument employed prepared the way for apt and forcible illustrations. One by one the supposed charges against Old Age are reviewed and met by exam-

ples of eminent Greeks and Romans who preserved their vigor, military prowess, commanding influence in state affairs, literary skill, poetic inspiration, or philosophical acuteness far beyond man's allotted age of three score and ten. Cicero's wide acquaintance with literature and history made it an easy task for him to marshal the hosts of ancient worthies in support of his arguments. Besides this, in the simpler matter of form and arrangement he has displayed his best characteristics and made his work worthy of the most careful study. Sentence order based upon emphasis, pleonasm for rhetorical effect, anaphora with its resulting force and brevity, and, including all other excellences, the well-rounded period, so stately in its movement, and so impressive to the Roman mind, are exemplified in this essay in the well-nigh faultless style of the greatest master of the Latin tongue. For more than eighteen centuries the De Senectute has been read and admired, a fact sufficient in itself to prove its beauty of expression and depth of meaning.

28. Philosophical Value. — In its philosophical import it is to be regarded as an ethical treatise written for a definite, practical purpose, to help his friend Atticus, and all who might read it, to bear the ills and burdens of life's closing period with becoming dignity and manly courage. Educated Romans had already lost faith in the corrupt and fanciful religious beliefs of their fathers. Lest they be tempted to yield ultimately to despair or to plunge into the mire of vice and immorality, the noblest minds sought refuge in the teachings of philosophy. For such, Cicero's moral treatises were full of comfort and inspiration. He delighted to draw his illustrations from the best years of his country's history, and to commend in earnest terms the simple virtues and temperate lives of Fabricius, Curius, and the men of their day. By such examples he sought to revive in the hearts of his fellowcitizens the ancient spirit of patriotism, which shrank from no sacrifice, even that of life itself, in defense of the honor and liberties of Rome.

But Cicero's message, uttered by the lips of Cato, was not limited to the men of his own time merely. The truths which he proclaimed were as broad in their meaning and as wide in their application as humanity itself. Emerson, in his essay on Old Age, thus bears witness to the enduring value and suggestive force of Cicero's work: "The speech led me to look over at home Cicero's famous essay, charming by its uniform rhetorical merit; heroic with Stoical precepts; with a Roman eye to the claims of the state; happiest, perhaps, in his praise of life on the farm; and rising at the conclusion to a lofty strain. But he does not exhaust the subject; rather invites the attempt to add traits to the picture from our broader modern life." Of its literary excellence and soundness in doctrine, the late Professor Lincoln thus speaks: "I have been impressed more than ever before with the worth of this Latin essay, in the justness of its sentiments and in the finish of its diction. The tone is cheerful and genial, and yet calm and serious; the argument for age moves on at times with a moderate concession, but mostly with a happy ingenuity and glowing fervor of defense. It is Roman in its good sense and sober, practical spirit; it is Ciceronian in the fullness and richness of its ideas and illustrations. and it is human and humane in all its views of man's life and destiny." (In Memoriam, J. L. L., p. 524.)

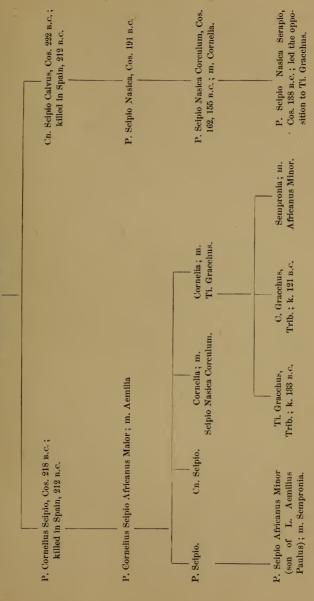
29. Characters. (1) Laelius. — Gaius Laelius, surnamed Sapiens, was born about 186 B.C. His father was the friend and associate of the elder Africanus in the Second Punic War, and was elected to the consulship, 190 B.C. The younger Laelius added broader culture and greater versatility of talent to the good qualities of the elder. He succeeded alike as soldier, orator, and author, and held the offices of tribune, praetor, augur, and consul, the last in the year 140 B.C. In the fierce struggle at the capture and destruction of Carthage, he was second in command to Scipio, and displayed remarkable skill and bravery. As a patron of literature he was even more distinguished than in the capacity of statesman or general. Well trained in oratory, law, and philosophy, he delighted to gather about him the choicest spirits and brightest wits

of his time. To his home came Pacuvius, Terence, Lucilius, Scaevola, and men of similar tastes, and together they studied the best authors or discussed the profoundest questions in philosophy. From this group of scholarly men radiated an influence beneficial to the interests of learning and culture in Rome. To this company, too, belonged Scipio, in whom Laelius found a kindred soul and a never-failing friend. Though the younger Africanus received more ample civil and military honors, yet he willingly yielded the palm to Laelius as a man of letters and a patron of scholars. For years these distinguished leaders, the best products of Roman civilization, alike the ornament and the defense of the state, shared their burdens and their pleasures. Of the noted friendships of antiquity, none surpasses that of Laelius and Scipio in sincerity and unselfishness, or in nobility of aim and purity of purpose. When Cicero wrote his De Amicitia, he selected Laelius as best qualified by experience to set forth the principles and advantages of friendship, and eulogize the life and character of the departed Scipio. How long Laelius survived the death of the latter is not known.

(2) Scipio. — Scipio was the son of Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus, who defeated Perseus at Pydna, 168 B.C., and thus completed the conquest of Macedonia. He was born 185 B.C., and was adopted by the eldest son of Scipio Africanus. By virtue of this adoption, his full name became Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, to which was afterwards added Africanus, in honor of his victory over Carthage. His first experience as a soldier was gained under his father at Pydna. In the year 151 B.C. he served as military tribune in Spain, and won distinction by his energy and personal courage. In the Third Punic War, the Romans, disheartened by the ill success of their generals, elected Scipio consul for the year 147 B.C., though he had not yet reached the legal age, and gave him the chief command, in the hope that he would quickly terminate the conflict, and add new luster to Roman arms. Their confidence was not misplaced. In the following spring he captured the city, utterly overthrew the Carthaginian power, and received as his own reward a magnificent triumph at Rome. Again, in 133 B.C., he was called upon to retrieve losses due to the mismanagement and incompetency of others, and brought to a successful issue the Numantine War, which had been prolonged, to the injury and discredit of Rome, ten years. Upon his return from this campaign, he lost the favor of the popular party by expressing approbation of the murder of Ti. Gracchus.

THE SCIPIOS.

L. Cornelius Scipio, Cos. 259 B.C.



Scipio's death occurred 129 B.C., under very suspicious circumstances. After making vigorous opposition in the senate to some of the provisions of the agrarian laws of Gracchus, he was conducted to his home by senators and landed proprietors of the Italian allies, who showed in this manner their appreciation of his bold stand in advocating their interests against the demands of the reformers. On the following morning he was found dead on his couch. The true story of his death still remains a mystery. Many suspected foul play, and openly charged Carbo, one of the leaders of the Gracchan party, with the crime of murder. His subsequent suicide gave strong ground for belief in his guilt, but the accusation was never substantiated by legal proof.

Scipio, like his lifelong companion, Laelius, was a man of great culture and refinement, a patron of Greek learning in its best form, and the warm friend of the historian Polybius. In purity of life and devotion to principle, the younger Africanus has had no superior in the annals of his country. Great as he appeared in war, as the conqueror of the two cities most hostile to Rome, he deserves still higher distinction for his cultivation of the ennobling arts of peace and his generous patronage of the famous "Scipionic Circle," composed of the most enlightened authors and scholars of Rome.

The table on page 31, adapted from Smith's *Dictionary of Biography*, shows the relationship of the most noted members of the Scipio family.

(3) Cato. — The chief events in Cato's life are enumerated by Cicero in the De Senectute, but a brief sketch of the man will be appropriate at this point and will help to a clearer understanding of the text. It must be borne in mind that Cicero did not select Cato as the principal speaker in the dialogue in the belief that he was in all respects an ideal person, but rather on account of the integrity, the physical vigor, and the intellectual activity which he manifested in extreme old age, and that in the progress of the work he found it necessary to remodel Cato's character to some extent, softening its harsh features, rounding off the sharp corners and imparting to it more refinement and culture than ever actually marked the stern old Censor.

Marcus Porcius Cato belonged to a plebeian family of Sabine stock and was born at Tusculum, 234 B.C. Though we know little of his early years, yet we may reasonably conclude that he received the best training in law and oratory afforded by his native town and the neighboring city of Rome. The plain, austere life of the hardy Sabines seems to have

suited his vigorous constitution and pleased his simple tastes, for he not only labored in his boyhood on the paternal estate, but always manifested special fondness for his country home, and never shrank from the severest kind of toil known to the sturdy farmers of that rude age.

Like other young men of his time, he rendered his first service to the state, as a soldier in the Second Punic War, taking part with great credit to himself in several important engagements, including the decisive battle of the Metaurus. In the year 204 B.C. he was quaestor in Sicily under Scipio. The two men were totally unlike in disposition and in their views of public service. Cato's vigorous opposition to what he regarded as the unwarranted extravagance of his superior in office resulted in the mutual hatred and open hostility which existed between them for nearly twenty years and terminated only at Scipio's death. Cato became aedile 199 B.C., praetor in the following year, and in 195 B.C. reached the dignity of the consulship.

His colleague in the latter office was his patron and life-long friend Valerius Flaccus, a wealthy and powerful Roman, who had been early impressed with the sterling qualities of the young Cato and had induced him to take up his abode in the metropolis that he might try his powers in a broader field. The province of Spain fell to his lot, and this he ruled with so much vigor, and at the same time with such wisdom and justice, that he won the respect and confidence of the provincials and received on his return to Rome the distinguished honor of a triumph.

In 191 B.C., Antiochus, king of Syria, invaded Greece at the instigation of Hannibal, the implacable foe of the Republic, and in the campaign which followed Cato served as *legatus consularis* on the staff of Acilius Glabrio, the Roman commander, adding new luster to his military fame. By his success in gaining the rear of the enemy by a night march through a difficult and dangerous path, and by his sudden attack upon the unsuspecting foe, he contributed very materially to Glabrio's victory at Thermopylae.

In the year 184 B.C., Cato held the office of censor. It was in this position that he gained his greatest distinction and made the force of his personality most strikingly felt. Supported by his colleague, his old friend and admirer Valerius Flaccus, he at once adopted the strictest measures to check extravagance and corruption, and tried to bring about a complete reform in the morals of Rome. The lists of knights and

senators were carefully revised, and those whose moral baseness or willful neglect of duty had rendered them unworthy of high rank were deprived of their privileges and branded with disgrace, regardless of their wealth or distinguished family connection. Jewels, fine clothing, beautiful ornaments, and expensive slaves were heavily taxed in the hope of putting an end to the lavish expenditure of money on such useless luxuries. By this radical course Cato became involved in countless legal difficulties and was made defendant in nearly fifty suits at law. But while he proved powerless to change the current of events and stay the rising tide of wealth, with its attendant evils, yet he never faltered or wavered in his belief, nor did he cease to cry out against the corruption of his time and to advocate the sterner virtues and simpler living of the best days of the Republic.

Cato's closing years were marked by the most intense hostility to Carthage. The increasing prosperity and growing power of the Phoenician city filled him with apprehension and alarm for the future supremacy of Rome. A war of extermination against the hated rival appeared to him the only course for the senate to pursue, and consequently in season and out he reiterated his dire forebodings and sternly demanded the destruction of the ill-fated city. Delenda est Carthago was his constant cry. The inevitable struggle came at last, but the death of the grim old Censor in the year 149 B.c. prevented him from seeing the fulfillment of his cherished desire and beholding the final and complete triumph of Rome.

It is difficult to make a just estimate of Cato's character. In our day, he would be looked upon as narrow and intolerant to the last degree. Compared with the men of his own time, he was austere and imperious, but nevertheless thoroughly in earnest in his zeal for the true welfare of Rome and uncompromising in his war on every form of evil which threatened to sap the lifeblood of the people or waste their substance. In his public career, while he was always ready to fight to the bitter end against the enemies of the Republic, he was equally emphatic in his advocacy of impartial justice to the provincials and fair dealing with all law-abiding dependents of the state. He desired to see in Rome the thrift and freedom from luxury which marked the life of his Sabine neighbors, and, though his failure to win over the wealthy aristocracy to his way of thinking was a foregone conclusion, yet he never relaxed his principles or acknowledged defeat.

Cato was a voluminous author; he has, in fact, been justly called "the creator of Latin prose writing"; but with the exception of the De Re Rustica, which is still extant in a fairly good state of preservation, only fragments of his works have come down to us. Cicero was acquainted with one hundred and fifty of his speeches and knew the titles of eighty or ninety more. As an orator, Cato had no peer in his own day. His intense earnestness gave added force to his words, while at the same time, training and practice had made him eloquent in language and convincing in argument, - in short, master of the orator's most effective resources. His addresses were filled with caustic wit, pithy sayings, and wise utterances, which were greatly enjoyed by the people and readily passed into proverbial expressions. His keen insight and his undisguised hatred of fraud and shams of every kind impelled him to utter the honest truth in the most telling way. But Cato's principal literary effort was the composition of the Origines, an account of Rome and the early Italian communities. The loss of this work is to be deeply regretted; for it far surpassed in excellence and thoroughness the annals and chronicles which had preceded it, and was, in fact, the first production in the Latin language deserving the name of history.

Cato looked upon the Greeks with utter contempt and anticipated disastrous effects from the influence of their learning upon the Romans. "Whenever," he said, "that nation shall give us its literature, it will corrupt everything." When the famous philosophers, Carneades the Academic, Critolaus the Peripatetic, and Diogenes the Stoic, came to Rome as ambassadors, 155 B.C., he advocated in the senate their expulsion from Italy. As to the extent of his own knowledge of the Greek language and literature, the accounts are not very clear. This, however, is true; if Cicero were trying to draw an accurate picture of the living Cato, he would not represent him as so deeply imbued with Stoic philosophy, or so fond of quoting Xenophon and Plato as he has made him appear in the *De Senectute*. Cicero was in reality expressing his own thoughts by the lips of Cato.

After all due allowances have been made, the great censor, viewed in any light, is one of the most striking figures in Roman history. With his tireless energy, his indomitable will, and his unyielding devotion to his cherished principles, he made a wonderful impression upon his own age and gained for himself a name that will endure as long as that of Rome itself.

#### ANALYSIS.

#### I. Introduction:

- 1. Dedication to Atticus.
- 2. Form of the work.
- 3. Preliminary conversation:
  - a. Laelius and Scipio ask Cato the secret of his happy old age.
  - b. Cato replies that character alone will make the burden of age easy to bear.
  - c. Illustrations of this: Fabius, Plato, Isocrates, Gorgias, Ennius.

## II. Discussion: Four reasons why old age seems to be unhappy:

- A. It withdraws one from active life.
- B. It makes the body weak.
- C. It deprives one of pleasure.
- D. It is not far from death.

## A. In answer to the first charge it may be said:

- 1. There are duties which can be best performed by old men.
- 2. Memory can be retained by proper use.
- Both Greek scholars and Sabine farmers are active till death.

## B. In answer to the second reason:

- 1. Old age does not need youthful vigor.
- 2. Physical strength is often impaired by the vices of youth.
- 3. Ill health is common to all ages.
- 4. Bodily vigor may be retained by care of health and by devotion to intellectual pursuits.

## C. In refutation of the third charge:

- 1. Old age is free from many of the temptations of youth.
- 2. Old men find sufficient pleasure in conversation, literary pursuits, agriculture, honor and respect paid them by the young, and in the influence that belongs to the wisdom of age.
- 3. Peevishness is the fault of character, not of old age.

- D. The fourth reason is shown to be groundless by the following:
  - 1. There is nothing in death really to be dreaded.
  - 2. The young are exposed to it, as well as the old.
  - 3. It comes in the course of nature.
  - 4. It is a haven of rest to the aged who have lived wisely and well.
  - 5. It leads to immortality. Cato is led to this belief by reason and philosophy, as shown in:
    - a. Pythagoras' doctrine of the world-soul.
    - b. Plato's four arguments for immortality.
    - c. Cyrus' words to his sons.
    - d. The fact that belief in a future life inspires men to great deeds.
    - e. The calm manner in which the wisest die.
    - f. The soul's longing to depart and rejoin its loved ones.
- III. Conclusion: Whether the teachings of philosophy concerning the immortality of the soul be true or not, death is natural to old age and should be accepted as the close of life's drama. "May you, O Laelius and Scipio, live to experience the truth of what I say."

#### SUMMARY.

## CHAPTER I.

Cicero addresses Atticus with verses from Ennius, and dedicates the De Senectute to him, in the hope that it may lighten the increasing burden of old age. The work of composition has been a delight. The characters in the dialogue are Cato the elder, Scipio, and Laelius.

#### CHAPTER II.

- Scipio. "I admire the way in which you bear the burden of years, Cato."
- CATO. "It is easy enough. Those who have resources in themselves are prepared for all the changes of life. My wisdom consists simply in following Nature."
- LAELIUS. "Tell me, Cato, the secret of a happy old age."

#### CHAPTER III.

CATO. "Old men complain that they are deprived of pleasure and neglected by their friends, but the fault is in their own characters."

LAELIUS. "True; and yet you have been more highly favored by fortune than many others."

CATO. "You are partly right, but you do not cover the whole ground.

The story of Themistocles and the Seriphian illustrates the case.

A well-spent life is the surest way to a happy old age."

#### CHAPTER IV.

The aged Fabius restored the state by his policy of delay; recaptured Tarentum; strove to maintain the authority of the senate; served as augur; displayed remarkable fortitude in bearing the death of his son; and was well versed in history and literature.

#### CHAPTER V.

Maximus won military honors in old age. Plato, Isocrates, and Gorgias never gave up their literary pursuits. Ennius was happy at seventy in spite of his poverty. Four reasons why Old Age seems to be miserable.

## CHAPTER VI.

FIRST: Old Age removes us from active business. To this Cato replies, there are duties requiring wisdom and experience, which old men alone can properly perform. Paulus, Fabricius, Appius Claudius, Cato himself, and many others illustrate this. Among the Lacedaemonians old men hold the highest offices. Youth is rash, Old Age prudent.

#### CHAPTER VII.

Memory fails. Not if well trained. Themistocles retained his. Cato does not fear that his will be destroyed by reading inscriptions on tombstones. Old men remember whatever they are interested in. Sophocles and many illustrious poets and philosophers maintained their intellectual activity in extreme old age. Cato's Sabine neighbors do the same.

#### CHAPTER VIII.

The old, said Caecilius, see many things which they do not wish to see and become burdensome to their friends. In reply to this it may be said, that wise old men and young men of good ability enjoy each other's society. Old men are always occupied. Solon learned something new every day.

#### CHAPTER IX.

SECOND: Loss of physical strength comes with old age. But old men do not need the vigor of youth. The foolish lament of Milo, the athlete. Gentle discourse is becoming to the aged. Old men can find a pleasant task in teaching the young. Bodily weakness due to dissipation in early years. Cyrus and Metellus retained the strength of youth.

#### CHAPTER X.

Homer's account of the aged Nestor. Cato at eighty-four, though lacking youthful vigor, is still able to discharge his manifold civil duties. It is more important that one use his strength properly than that he have a great amount. Pythagoras' intellect is worth more than Milo's strength. Each period of life has its distinguishing characteristics. Masinissa's wonderful vigor at ninety.

#### CHAPTER XI.

Old men are exempt from duties which require bodily strength. They suffer from ill health; but so do young men, as shown in the case of Africanus' son. One must resist old age by taking due care of both body and mind. Dotage is not characteristic of all old men. Appius Claudius maintained his authority over his household. The ideal senex is old in body only, not in spirit. Cato finds consolation for the loss of physical strength in literature and civil duties.

#### CHAPTER XII.

THIRD: Old Age deprives us of pleasure. This is indeed a blessing; for bodily pleasure is the greatest source of evil. We ought to thank

Old Age for freeing us from its dominion. Cato removed T. Flamininus from the senate because of his disgraceful conduct.

#### CHAPTER XIII.

Epicurus taught that all things ought to be referred to pleasure as the standard of right. Curius and Coruncanius wished that the Samnites could be made to believe this. Fabricius thought that the beautiful and the good ought to be sought for their own sake. Old Age avoids overindulgence in pleasure and therefore escapes its attendant evils. Cato enjoys clubs and banquets. In the latter he finds more pleasure in companionship than in eating and drinking.

#### CHAPTER XIV.

Cato even indulges in prolonged banquets for the sake of conversation with old and young. He often invites his Sabine neighbors to dine with him. Old Age loses its desire for the baser pleasures of youth, but is not wholly devoid of enjoyment. When the mind is no longer under the sway of passion and folly, it takes delight in intellectual pursuits, astronomy, poetry, law. Such pleasures increase with age.

#### CHAPTER XV.

The pleasures of the husbandman are not lessened by old age. The earth returns what it receives, with interest. It causes the seed to germinate and the fruit to grow. The cultivation of the vine; the ripening cluster; the supporting trellis; irrigation, digging, and fertilizing. The story of Laertes. The many delights of rural life.

#### CHAPTER XVI.

Curius spent his closing years in farming; his indifference to wealth. Cincinnatus was called from the plow to the office of dictator. The life of the farmer is happy and useful. A farm, with its meadows, orchards, and vineyards, affords the most delightful home for the aged. Let the youth keep their games and exercises; the old can be happy without such amusements.

#### CHAPTER XVII.

Xenophon's Oeconomicus. Lysander's visit to a park belonging to Cyrus the younger. Agriculture the best occupation for old men. Corvinus, though six times consul, engaged in it. Authority is the crown of old age. This was true of Metellus, Calatinus, and many others.

#### CHAPTER XVIII.

A happy old age comes only from a well-spent youth. Old men enjoy the respect of their juniors. The Spartans noted for the honor they paid to the aged. Contrast between the Spartans and Athenians. Respect paid to age in the college of augurs. Peevishness, fault-finding, and avarice are due to character, not to age.

#### CHAPTER XIX.

FOURTH: The approach of death. But this should not be feared, for it is followed either by eternal happiness or by annihilation. Even the young are not sure of life; many dangers threaten them. Young men hope for long life; old men have attained it. The longest existence must end at last. A short life may be pure and happy; if prolonged, its closing years are the time for gathering life's fruit. Death in the young is untimely; by the old it is welcomed as a haven of rest after a long voyage.

#### CHAPTER XX.

Old age is more courageous than youth. The most suitable time for death. Nature fashions and destroys our bodies. Pythagoras forbids suicide. Solon wished to be mourned after death. Ennius thought it the gate of immortality, and therefore no occasion for tears. We must remember its certainty and cease to fear it. The example of great commanders and common soldiers who have faced death should give us courage. The pleasures of each age in time lose their charm and death comes in the course of nature.

#### CHAPTER XXI.

Cato's reason and the authority of eminent philosophers impel him to believe that the soul is of divine origin and the body its prison-house. Pythagoras taught that the souls of men come from the great world-soul which animates the universe. A brief statement of Plato's arguments for the immortality of the soul.

#### CHAPTER XXII.

The dying words of Cyrus the Elder to his sons. The soul is invisible. The spirits of the illustrious dead continue to influence us. The soul released from the body enters upon a higher and purer existence. Death compared to sleep.

#### CHAPTER XXIII.

Belief in immortality inspires great men to live laborious lives. The wisest meet death most calmly. Cato is anxious to rejoin his departed friends and to see the great heroes of former ages. He does not wish to live his life over again, though he does not regret that he has lived. This earth is an inn, not a home. Cato longs to depart and be with his son, whose death he bore so calmly because he thought it but a temporary separation. In conclusion, Cato thinks old age agreeable and easy to bear; and hopes that his auditors may live to test his theories.

# M. TULLĪ CICERŌNIS CATŌ MĀIOR DĒ SENECTŪTE LIBER AD T. POMPŌNIUM ATTICUM.



## M. TULLĪ CICERŌNIS CATŌ MĀIOR DĒ SENECTŪTE LIBER AD T. POMPŌNIUM ATTICUM.

I.

Ō TITE, SĪ quid ego adiuerō cūramve levāssō, Quae nunc tē coquit et versāt in pectore fīxa, Ecquid erit praemī?

O Tite . . . praemī. These verses and the two following are taken from the tenth book of the Annales of Ennius, a poem in eighteen books, on the model of Homer, recounting the history of Rome from the wanderings of Aeneas to the time of the poet, who lived from 239 to 169 B.C. In this national epic, of which only a few fragments now remain, the old Saturnian measure first gave way to the Greek hexameter. The lines here so aptly addressed by Cicero to his friend Atticus are supposed to have been spoken by an Epirote shepherd to Titus Quinctius Flamininus, the commander of the Romans in the war against Philip of Macedon, 198 B.C. Philip's army, advantageously posted in a narrow defile connecting Epirus and Thessaly, held the Romans at bay for six weeks, until a chief, one Charops by name, sent a shepherd to Flamininus to show him a way over the mountains. A force was dispatched by this secret path to a commanding position in the rear of the Greeks, who were then attacked on all sides and driven from the pass. Livy relates the occurrence in XXXII. 9, 10. See also Liddell's *History of Rome*, pp. 424–428, for the same incident and for an account of the subsequent victory of the Romans at Cynoscephalae, 197 B.C.

Cicero, in his letters to Atticus, XVI. 3 and 11, uses the words *O Tite* to designate this essay. In like manner the Romans called the Aeneid of Vergil *Arma virumque cano* and Lucretius' works *Aeneadum genetrix*. So the Bulls and Encyclicals of the Popes receive their distinct names from their initial words.

Licet enim mihi versibus eīsdem adfārī tē, Attice, quibus adfātur Flāminīnum

Ille vir haud māgnā cum rē, sed plēnus fidēī; quamquam certō sciō nōn, ut Flāminīnum,

Sollicitārī tē, Tite, sīc noctēsque diēsque; nōvī enim moderātiōnem animī tuī et aequitātem, tēque nōn cōgnōmen sōlum Athēnīs dēportāsse, sed hūmānitātem et

Flāminīnum. Scarcely anything is known of the early life of Flamininus. He was made consul 198 B.C.. at which time he is said to have been but thirty years of age. Having brought the second Macedonian war to a successful close, he held the fate of Greece in his hands. When in the summer of 196 B.C., the people, anxious to know his decision, had assembled in great numbers in the amphitheater at Corinth, on the occasion of the Isthmian games, he ordered a crier to announce that "the Roman senate and Titus Quinctius, the commander, having conquered Philip and the Macedonians, declared all the Greeks who had been subject to the king free and independent." In the year 183 B.C., Flamininus was sent on an errand that reflected no credit upon himself or the senate. He was commissioned to visit the court of Prusias, king of Bithynia, and demand the person of Hannibal. But the proud-spirited Carthaginian, defeated in all his plans against Rome and now driven from his last place of refuge, terminated by poison the life that had long ceased to be worth the living. Flamininus appears to have been living in 168 B.C.,

but after that time disappears from history.

5

aequitatem. Horace refers to the same quality of mind in Odes II. 3,

Aequam memento rebus in arduis Servare mentem, non secus in bonis Ab insolenti temperatam

Laetitia, moriture Delli.

cognomen. A Roman had at least two names, generally three, praenomen, nomen, cognomen, as Gaius Iulius Caesar. The term cognomen is applied to the family name, and also used to designate a by-name, as Africanus and Atticus. Titus Pomponius received this surname from his long residence in Athens (86-65 B.C.) and from his generosity to the Athenians and his true Attic culture. He left Rome on account of the disturbed condition of the state and sought Athens as a favorable place to prosecute his studies. Cf. Nep. Att. 2, idoneum tempus ratus studiis obsequendi suis, Athenas se contulit; also ibid. Hic ita vixit, ut universis Atheniensibus merito esset carissimus; ibid. 4, Sic enim Graece loquebatur ut Athenis natus videretur.

hūmānitātem. Derived from humanus, that which becomes a man,

prūdentiam intellegō. Et tamen tē suspicor eīsdem rēbus quibus mē ipsum interdum gravius commovērī, quārum consolatio et maior est et in aliud tempus differenda. Nunc aut-2 em vīsum est mihi dē senectūte aliquid ad tē conscrībere. Hoc enim onere, quod mihi commune tēcum est, aut iam urgentis aut certe adventantis senectūtis et te et me etiam ipsum levārī volo; etsī tē quidem id modicē āc sapienter, sīcut omnia, et ferre et lātūrum esse certō sciō. Sed mihi, cum dē senectūte vellem aliquid scrībere, tū occurrēbās dīgnus eō mūnere, quō uterque nostrūm commūniter ūterētur. quidem ita iūcunda hūius librī confectio fuit, ut non modo omnīs absterserit senectūtis molestiās, sed effēcerit mollem etiam et iūcundam senectūtem. Numquam igitur satis dīgnē laudārī philosophia poterit, cui quī pāreat, omne tempus 3 aetātis sine molestiā possit dēgere. Sed dē cēterīs et dīximus 15 multa et saepe dīcēmus; hunc librum ad tē dē senectūte mīsimus. Omnem autem sermonem tribuimus non Tīthono,

culture. Cf. the English "humanity" in the sense of "liberal education," and "the humanities" equivalent to "branches of polite learning," especially "the classics."

**commune.** Cicero was sixty-two, Atticus sixty-five.

senectūtis. The Romans divided the life of man into the following periods, each of the first four about fifteen years in length: pueritia, adulescentia, iuventus, aetas seniorum, senectus. Some of these terms were occasionally used loosely, without strict regard for the exact divisions of human life to which they technically belonged.

modicē. What substantive has Cicero previously employed to de-

note this same characteristic of Atticus?

certo. How does this differ in force from certe?

iūcundam. This effect does not seem to have been lasting; cf. Ad Att. XIV. 21, 3, Legendus mihi saepius est Cato maior ad te missus. Amariorem enim me senectus facit. Stomachor omnia.

laudārī philosophia poterit. For Cicero's high opinion of philosophy, cf. Tusc. V. 2, 5, O vitae philosophia dux! O virtutis indagatrix expultrixque vitiorum!

**Tīthōnō.** The son of Laomedon and husband of Aurora. In answer to her prayers, Jupiter granted him length of days, but not immortal

ut Aristō Cīus (parum enim esset auctōritātis in fābulā), sed M. Catōnī senī, quō māiōrem auctōritātem habēret orātiō; apud quem Laelium et Scīpiōnem facimus admīrantīs, quod is tam facile senectūtem ferat, eīsque eum respondentem. Quī sī ērudītius vidēbitur disputāre quam 5 cōnsuēvit ipse in suīs librīs, attribuitō litterīs Graecīs, quārum cōnstat eum perstudiōsum fuisse in senectūte. Sed quid opus est plūra? Iam enim ipsīus Catōnis sermō explicābit nostram omnem dē senectūte sententiam.

#### II.

4 Scīpiō. Saepe numerō admīrārī söleō cum hōc C. Laeliō 10 cum cēterārum rērum tuam excellentem, M. Catō, perfectamque sapientiam, tum vel māximē, quod numquam tibi senectūtem gravem esse sēnserim, quae plērīsque senibus sīc odiōsa est, ut onus sē Aetnā gravius dīcant sustinēre.

youth. After a very feeble old age he was turned into a *cicada*, "katydid." For a fine rendering of this story, see Tennyson's *Tithonus:*—

The woods decay, the woods decay and fall,

The vapors weep their burthen to the ground,

Man comes and tills the field and lies beneath,

And after many a summer dies the swan.

Me only cruel immortality

Consumes: I wither slowly in thine arms,

Here at the quiet limit of the world,

A white-hair'd shadow roaming like
a dream

The ever silent spaces of the East, Far-folded mists, and gleaming halls of morn. Aristō. A peripatetic philosopher of Ceos, one of the Cyclades. He flourished about 225 B.C. His writings have been lost.

suīs librīs. Cato wrote a treatise on farming, *De Re Rustica*; a historical work, *Origines*; and many orations. See Introduction, p. 35.

litterīs Graecīs: cf. VIII. 26, qui litteras Graecas senex didici; also Plut. Cato, 2, παιδείας Έλληνικῆς δψιμαθῆς γενέσθαι λέγεται. Pliny, N. H. XXIX. 8, says, however, that Cato regarded it satis esse ingenia Graecorum inspicere, non perdiscere. Cf. Cic. De Orat. III. 33, 135, Quid enim M. Catoni praeter hanc politissimam doctrinam transmarinam atque adventiciam defuit?

Aetnā gravius. Cicero undoubtedly had in mind Euripides, Herc.

Catō. Rem haud sānē difficilem, Scīpiō et Laelī, admīrārī vidēminī. Quibus enim nihil est in ipsīs opis ad bene beātēque vīvendum, eīs omnis aetās gravis est; quī autem omnia bona ā sē ipsī petunt, eīs nihil malum potest vidērī, quod nātūrae necessitās adferat. Quō in genere est in prīmīs senectūs; quam ut adipīscantur omnēs optant, eandem accūsant adeptam; tanta est stultitiae incōnstantia atque perversitās. Obrēpere āiunt eam citius, quam putāssent. Prīmum quis coēgit eōs falsum putāre? Quī enim citius adulēscentiae senectūs quam pueritiae adulēscentia

Fur. 637, "old age, a burden heavier than lofty Aetna." According to an ancient myth, the Giants, overcome in their contest with the gods, were buried under Aetna. Cf. Verg. Aen. III. 578-581:—

Fama est Enceladi semiustum fulmine corpus

Urgueri mole hac, ingentemque insuper Aetnam

Impositam ruptis flammam exspirare caminis;

also Hor. Odes III. 4, 73-76, Iniecta monstris Terra dolet suis, . . . nec peredit Impositam celerignis Aetnam. Longfellow relates the story of Enceladus in a poem bearing that name:

> Under Mount Aetna he lies, It is slumber, it is not death.

Allusions to the height and fires of Aetna passed into proverbial expressions; cf. Plaut. Mil. Glor. 1065, Aetna non aeque alta est; Verg. Aen. VII. 786, Aetnaeos efflantem faucibus ignes.

in ipsīs opis. It was a fundamental doctrine of the Stoics that man ought to find the means for a happy

life in virtue alone and not in any form of material wealth. Cf. Cic. Tusc. V. 14, 42, Qui autem poterit esse celsus, et erectus, et ea, quae homini accidere possunt, omnia parva ducens, qualem sapientem esse volumus, nisi omnia sibi in se posita censebit?

Obrēpere . . . putāssent. The sentiment is true to nature. Cf. Bryant's *The Old Man's Counsel*, lines 59-65:—

Slow pass our days

In childhood, and the hours of light are long

Betwixt the morn and eve; with swifter lapse

They glide in manhood, and in age they fly;

Till days and seasons flit before the mind

As flit the snow-flakes in a winter storm,

Seen rather than distinguished.

adulēscentiae. See on senectutis, p. 47; adulescentia here includes iuventus. In like manner senectus is often used where greater exactness

obrēpit? Deinde quī minus gravis esset eīs senectūs, sī octingentēsimum annum agerent quam sī octōgēsimum? Praeterita enim aetās quamvīs longa cum efflūxisset, nūlla cōnsōlātiō permulcēre posset stultam senectūtem. Quōcircā sī sapientiam meam admīrārī sōlētis (quae utinam dīgna esset opīniōne vestrā nostrōque cōgnōmine!), in hōc sumus sapientēs, quod nātūram optimam ducem tamquam deum sequimur eīque pārēmus; ā quā nōn vērī simile est, cum cēterae partēs aetātis bene dēscrīptae sint, extrēmum āctum tamquam ab inertī poētā esse neglēctum. Sed tamen 10

would require two terms, aetas seniorum and senectus (in the restricted sense).

opīniōne...cōgnōmine. Note the chiasmus. Cato received the surname Sapiens on account of his practical wisdom, as manifested in his pithy sayings; cf. De Am. II. 6, in which Fannius says Cato was called wise, quia multarum rerum usum habebat.

nātūram optimam ducem. The Stoics taught that man ought to live in accordance with nature. By natura they meant the law of man's being, "right reason" applied to human conduct. They believed it possible for man to learn by observation and self-study the constitution of his being, and the natural law to which he was in duty bound to conform his life. Cf. De Am. V. 19, naturam optimam bene vivendi ducem; De Off. III. 3, quod summum bonum a Stoicis dicitur, convenienter naturae vivere; De Leg. I. 6, Ista (natura) duce errari nullo pacto potest.

extrēmum āctum. The last act of the drama of life; for other in-

stances of this figure, cf. XVIII. 64; XIX. 70; XXIII. 85. The comparison of life to a play is of very frequent occurrence in ancient and modern literature. Cf. Shakespeare's well-known lines, As You Like It, Act II. sc. 7,

All the world's a stage, And all the men and women merely players;

also The Merchant of Venice, Act I. sc. 1,

I hold the world but as the world, Gratiano;

A stage, where every man must play a part;

Macbeth, Act V. sc. 5,

Life's but a walking shadow; a poor player,

That struts and frets his hour upon the stage

And then is heard no more;

Thos. Heywood, Apology for Actors,

The world's a theater, the earth a stage

Which God and Nature do with actors fill.

necesse fuit esse aliquid extrēmum et tamquam in arborum bācīs terraeque frūctibus mātūritāte tempestīvā quasi viētum et cadūcum, quod ferundum est molliter sapientī. Quid est enim aliud Gigantum modō bellāre cum dīs nisi nātūrae repūgnāre?

LAELIUS. Atquī, Catō, grātissimum nōbīs, ut etiam prō Scīpiōne pollicear, fēceris, sī, quoniam spērāmus, volumus quidem certē senēs fierī, multō ante ā tē didicerimus, quibus facillimē ratiōnibus ingravēscentem aetātem ferre possīmus.

Сатō. Faciam vērō, Laelī, praesertim sī utrīque vestrūm,  $_{10}$  ut dīcis, grātum futūrum est.

LAELIUS. Volumus sānē, nisi molestum est, Catō, tamquam longam aliquam viam cōnfēceris, quam nōbīs quoque ingrediundum sit, istūc, quō pervēnistī, vidēre quāle sit.

## III.

7 Сато. Faciam, ut potero, Laelī. Saepe enim interfuī 15 querēlīs aequālium meorum (parēs autem vetere proverbio

**Volumus.** With this passage, cf. Plato's Republic, I. 328 (Jowett's translation): "Socrates. 'There is nothing which I like better, Cephalus, than conversing with aged men like yourself; for I regard them as travelers who have gone a journey which I too may have to go, and of whom I ought to inquire, whether the way is smooth and easy, or rugged and difficult. And this is a question which I should like to ask of you who have arrived at that time which the poets call the threshold of old age, - is life harder towards the end, or what report do you give of it?","

vetere proverbio. Cf. Homer, Od. XVII. 218, "Thus ever doth

some god join like with like"; Plato's Rep. I. 329 (Jowett's Trans.), "Old men flock together; they are birds of a feather, as the proverb says"; Phaedrus, 240, "Equals, as the proverb says, delight in equals"; Symposium, 195, "He is not a bird of that feather; youth and love live and move together, - like to like, as the proverb says"; so Ter. Heaut. 419, Nos quoque senes est aequom senibus obsequi; Hor. Ep. I. 5, 25, ut coeat par iungaturque pari; Liv. I. 46, 7, Contrahit celeriter similitudo eos, ut fere fit; malum malo aptissimum; Quint. V. 11, 41, et apud Ciceronem, Pares autem . . . congregantur; Amm. Marcell. XXVIII. 1,

cum paribus facillimē congregantur), quae C. Salīnātor, quae Sp. Albīnus, hominēs cōnsulārēs, nostrī ferē aequālēs, dēplōrāre sōlēbant, tum quod voluptātibus carērent, sine quibus vītam nūllam putārent, tum quod spernerentur ab eīs, ā quibus essent colī solitī. Quī mihi nōn id vidēbantur 5 accūsāre, quod esset accūsandum. Nam sī id culpā senectūtis accideret, eadem mihi ūsū venīrent reliquīsque omnibus māiōribus nātū, quōrum ego multōrum cōgnōvī senectūtem sine querēlā, quī sē et libīdinum vinculīs laxātōs esse nōn molestē ferrent nec ā suīs dēspicerentur. Sed omnium 10 istīus modī querēlārum in mōribus est culpa, nōn in aetāte. Moderātī enim et nec difficilēs nec inhūmānī senēs tolerābilem senectūtem agunt, importūnitās autem et inhūmānitās omnī aetātī molesta est.

8 LAELIUS. Est, ut dīcis, Catō; sed fōrtasse dīxerit quis- 15 piam tibi propter opēs et cōpiās et dīgnitātem tuam tole-rābiliōrem senectūtem vidērī, id autem nōn posse multīs contingere.

CATŌ. Est istud quidem, Laelī, aliquid, sed nēquāquam in istō sunt omnia. Ut Themistoclēs fertur Serīphiō cui- 20

53, ut solent pares facile congregari cum paribus.

facillimē. In the sense of *libentissime*. This chapter to § 9 is a very close imitation of Plato's *Republic*, I. 329–330.

C. Salīnātor. C. Livius Salinator was about four years younger than Cato. He commanded the Roman fleet against Antiochus, 191 B.C., and was consul 188 B.C.

Sp. Albīnus. Sp. Postumius Albinus held the consulship, 186 B.C.

Sed omnium . . . molesta est. Cf. Plato's Rep. I. 329, "And of

these regrets, as well as of the complaint about relations, Socrates, the cause is to be sought, not in men's ages, but in their characters and tempers; for he who is of a calm and happy nature will hardly feel the pressure of age, but he who is of an opposite disposition will find youth and age equally a burden."

Themistoclēs. A celebrated Athenian general and statesman, born about the year 514 B.c. As soon as he was old enough to take part in public affairs, he revealed an overmastering ambition for brilliant

dam in iūrgiō respondisse, cum ille dīxisset nōn eum suā, sed patriae glōriā splendōrem adsecūtum: 'Nec hercule,' inquit, 'sī ego Serīphius essem, nec tū sī Athēniēnsis, clārus umquam fuissēs.' Quod eōdem modō dē senectūte dīcī potest. Nec enim in summā inopiā levis esse senectūs potest nē sapientī quidem nec īnsipientī etiam in summā cōpiā nōn gravis. Aptissima omnīnō sunt, Scīpiō et Laelī, arma senectūtis artēs exercitātiōnēsque virtūtum, quae in omnī aetāte cultae, cum diū multumque vīxeris, mīrificōs ecferunt frūctūs, nōn sōlum quia numquam dēserunt, nē 10 extrēmō quidem tempore aetātis (quamquam id quidem māximum est), vērum etiam quia cōnscientia bene āctae vītae multōrumque bene factōrum recordātiō iūcundissima est.

display and personal glory. He arrayed himself against many of the leaders of the state and manifested bitter hostility to Aristides the Just, upon whose ostracism he became the leading spirit in the political affairs of Athens. Special credit was due him for his wise course in building up the Athenian fleet, which he commanded with marked success in the great battle of Salamis, 480 B.C. But after a long career of self-seeking and political trickery, Themistocles was ostracised by his fellow-citizens, 471 B.C., on charges of bribery and extortion. To escape trial for treason, in which he had been implicated, he fled to the Persian court in 465 B.C., and there by his brilliant talents gained the favor of the king and enjoyed the wealth and honor of a prince until the close of his life in 449 B.C. The report that he brought on death by poison has gained some currency but

lacks any substantial proof. He was honored with a monument in the city of Magnesia, in which he had spent the last years of his life. Themistocles was, in a word, a man of marked ability, but utterly devoid of character

**Serīphiō**. An inhabitant of Seriphus, a small island in the Aegean Sea, now Serfo. The island was of very little importance.

eum. Themistocles. This story is taken from Plato's Republic, I. 330. It is also found in Plutarch's life of Themistocles. Herodotus, VIII. 125, relates the same incident in substance, but he differs from this account in some of the minor points.

Quod eōdem . . . dīcī potest. Cf. Plato, Rep. I. 330, "And to those who are not rich and are impatient of old age, the same reply may be made."

#### IV.

- 10 Ego Q. Māximum, eum quī Tarentum recēpit, senem adulēscēns ita dīlēxī, ut aequālem; erat enim in illō virō cōmitāte condīta gravitās, nec senectūs mōrēs mūtāverat. Quamquam eum colere coepī nōn admodum grandem nātū, sed tamen iam aetāte prōvēctum. Annō enim post cōnsul 5 prīmum fuerat, quam ego nātus sum, cumque eō quārtum cōnsule adulēscentulus mīles ad Capuam profectus sum quīntōque annō post ad Tarentum. Quaestor deinde quadrienniō post factus sum, quem magistrātum gessī cōnsulibus Tuditānō et Cethēgō, cum quidem ille admodum senex 10
- O. Māximum. Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus was one of the most prominent figures in the history of Rome during the last quarter of the third century B. C. He was honored with the censorship in 230, with the dictatorship, 221 and 217, and with the consulship five times, 233, 228, 215, 214, 209 B.C. Fabius was the chief of the Roman envoys to Carthage at the outbreak of the Second Punic War, and it was he who played the principal part in the scene so dramatically set forth by Livy, XXI. 18, Tum Romanus, sinu ex toga facto. 'Hic,' inquit, 'vobis bellum et pacem portamus: utrum placet, sumite.' Appointed Dictator after the battle of Trasumennus, he inaugurated his famous policy of "delay," by which he hoped to break down Hannibal's strength without risking a pitched battle. From this plan, which he so persistently followed himself and urged upon other commanders, he received the surname Cunctator.

After the disaster to the Roman arms at Cannae, 216 B.C., Fabius was for many years the mainstay of the government and people. He died in 203 B.C. at an advanced age and with his fame overshadowed at the last by the greater success of the more aggressive Scipio.

Annō... quadrienniō post factus sum. The following are the dates referred to in the passage:—

B.C. 234. Birth of Cato.

" 233. Fabius' first consulship.

" 214. " fourth "

" 214. Cato, a common soldier (miles) at Capua.

' 209. Cato with Fabius at the recapture of Tarentum.

" 204. Cato, Quaestor.

" 204. Tuditanus and Cethegus, Consuls.

Tuditānō et Cethēgō. P. Sempronius Tuditanus and M. Cornelius Cethegus. For the date of their con-

suāsor lēgis Cinciae dē dōnīs et mūneribus fuit. Hīc et bella gerēbat ut adulēscēns, cum plānē grandis esset, et Hannibalem iuvenīliter exsultantem patientiā suā molliēbat; dē quō praeclārē familiāris noster Ennius:

Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem. Noenum rūmores ponebāt ante salūtem. Ergo plūsque magisque virī nunc gloria clāret.

sulship, see above. Note the connective et. When the praenomina are expressed the names generally stand without any conjunction.

lēgis Cinciae. M. Cincius Alimentus, Tribune of the plebs, 204 B.C., secured the passage of this law, by which advocates were forbidden to take fees from their clients. It was nominally in force until the time of the Emperor Claudius, though often evaded in various ways. Tacitus, Ann. XI. 5, thus alludes to it, consurgunt patres legemque Cinciam flagitant, qua cavetur antiquitus, ne quis ob causam orandam pecuniam donumve accipiat.

Hannibalem. Hannibal was undoubtedly one of the greatest generals in the world's history. Taught by his father Hamilcar to hate the Romans, he remained until the day of his death their bitterest foe. Had he been loyally supported by his own government, he might have been instrumental in changing the subsequent course of history. He will always be noted in military annals for his famous passage of the Alps and his overwhelming victories at Trasumennus and Cannae. For the manner of his death, see on Flamininus, p. 46.

iuvenīliter. Hannibal entered Italy, 218 s.c., at the age of twentynine, and was recalled to Carthage sixteen years later.

patientiā. This refers to Fabius' "staying" qualities, to his stubborn persistence in one definite plan of tiring out Hannibal.

Ennius. Ennius, sometimes called "the father of Roman poetry," was born at Rudiae in Calabria, 239 B.C. While serving as a soldier in Sardinia, near the close of the Second Punic War, he won the friendship of Cato, and was taken by him to Rome. Ennius was versed in Latin, Greek, and Oscan, and found opportunity in the busy life of the metropolis to turn his linguistic knowledge to practical account, as teacher and playwright. For his great work, the Annals, see p. 45.

**Ūnus homō.** These lines are from the eighth book of the *Annales*. They are quoted again by Cicero, *De Off.* I. 24; Vergil, *Aen.* VI. 846, borrows the first line,

Tu Maximus ille es, Unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem;

cf. also Livy, XXX. 26, Sic nihil certius est, quam unum hominem

11 Tarentum vērō quā vigilantiā, quō cōnsiliō recēpit! cum quidem mē audiente Salīnātōrī, quī āmīssō oppidō fūgerat in arcem, glōriantī atque ita dīcentī: 'Meā operā, Q. Fabī, Tarentum recēpistī': 'Certē,' inquit rīdēns, 'nam nisi tū āmīsissēs, numquam recēpissem.' Nec vērō in armīs praestantior quam in togā; quī cōnsul iterum Sp. Carviliō conlēgā quiēscente C. Flāminiō tribūnō plēbis, quoad potuit, restitit

nobis cunctando rem restituisse, sicut Ennius ait; Ov. Fast. II. 240-2,

Unus de Fabia gente relictus erat, Scilicet ut posses olim tu, Maxime, nasci,

Cui res cunctando restituenda foret.

Salīnātōrī. This is M. Livius Salinator, consul in 219 B.c. and father of the Salinator mentioned in III. 7. He was given the nickname Salinator, because of the salt-tax which he instituted when censor, 204 B.C. In his second consulship, in 207 B.C., he commanded the Romans in the fierce battle of the Metaurus, which resulted in the defeat and death of the Carthaginian general Hasdrubal, brother of Hannibal. This bloody struggle proved to be, in fact, the turning point in the war, and is now regarded as one of the world's decisive battles. (See Creasy's Fifteen Decisive Battles.) But Cicero is probably in error in connecting Salinator with the incident here related. We learn from Livy, XXVII. 34, 7, that M. Livius Macatus commanded the garrison at Tarentum when the city was treacherously delivered to Hannibal, 212 B.C. Cicero was very likely misled by the fact that the first two names were identical and that the commander was called in the records simply Marcus Livius. Macatus held the citadel until the town was retaken by Fabius. The words Mea opera, etc., were probably uttered during a debate in the senate to decide whether the commander should be praised for holding the citadel, or censured for losing the city. The latter was the outcome of the discussion.

Sp. Carvilio. Sp. Carvilius Maximus was consul in 234, and again in 228 B.C.

C. Flāminiō tribūnō plēbis. Flaminius was tribune of the people and secured the passage of this law in 232 B.c., four years before Fabius' second consulship. easiest way to get over the apparent contradiction is to suppose Flaminius was appointed a special officer to aid in carrying out the provisions of his agrarian law, and that he continued in the performance of these duties until the year 228 B.C. Flaminius held the consulship in 220, and again in 217 B.C. In the latter year he was defeated and slain at Lake Trasumennus as the result of his own rash folly. Cf. Cic. Brut. 14, 57, Dicitur etiam C. Flaminius, agrum Pīcentem et Gallicum virītim contrā senātūs auctōritātem dīvidentī; augurque cum esset, dīcere ausus est optimīs auspiciīs ea gerī, quae prō reī pūblicae salūte gererentur; quae contrā rem pūblicam ferrentur, contrā auspicia 12 ferrī. Multa in eō virō praeclāra cōgnōvī; sed nihil admīrābilius, quam quō modō ille mortem fīlī tulit, clārī virī

is qui tribunus plebis legem de agro Gallico et Piceno viritim dividundo tulit, qui consul apud Trasumennum est interfectus, ad populum valuisse dicendo.

agrum Picentem et Gallicum. The territory included Picenum and a portion of Umbria. The Senonian Gauls had been driven from this region by the Romans. Livy gives this as one reason why the Gallic chiefs would not promise the Roman envoys to prevent Hannibal from marching through Gaul to Italy; cf. Liv. XXI. 20, 6, Contra ea audire sese, gentis suae homines agro finibusque Italiae pelli a populo Romano.

augur. The public augurs consulted the omens and decided whether they were favorable or unfavorable. In course of time they acquired almost unlimited power. Every act of the government, including the passage of laws, the election of officers, and the declaration of war, depended upon the auspices. Nothing could be done by the magistrates unless the omens were favorable. With their exclusive right to interpret the latter, the augurs practically ruled the state. The number in the college was nine in Cato's time, but was increased ultimately to sixteen. The members were chosen for life. It is said that Fabius held the sacred office sixtytwo years. The omens were determined in five ways: by the appearance of the heavens; the singing and flight of birds; the feeding of the sacred chickens; from the sudden or unusual appearance of animals (a private omen); from various occurrences, such as accidents, noises, sneezing, stumbling, and the like.

optimīs auspiciīs. Cf. Cic. De Leg. III. 3, 8, salus populi suprema lex esto. Gernhard, followed by many editors, compares Hector's words, Hom. Il. XII. 243 (Bryant's translation):—

Thou dost ask

That I be governed by the flight of birds,

Which I regard not, whether to the right

And toward the morning and the sun they fly,

Or toward the left and evening. We should heed

The will of mighty Jupiter, who bears Rule over gods and men. One augury There is, the surest and the best, to fight

For our own land.

fili. He bore his father's name, Q. Fabius Maximus, and was consul 213 B.C., the year following his father's fourth consulship.

et cōnsulāris. Est in manibus laudātiō, quam cum legimus, quem philosophum nōn contemnimus? Nec vērō ille in lūce modo atque in oculīs cīvium māgnus, sed intus domīque praestantior. Quī sermō, quae praecepta, quanta nōtitia antīquitātis, scientia iūris augurī! Multae etiam, ut in homine Rōmānō, litterae; omnia memoriā tenēbat nōn domestica sōlum, sed etiam externa bella. Cūius sermōne ita tum cupidē fruēbar, quasi iam dīvīnārem, id quod ēvēnit, illō exstinctō fore, unde discerem, nēminem.

#### V.

Quōrsus igitur haec tam multa dē Māximō? Quia profectō 10 vidētis nefās esse dictū miseram fuisse tālem senectūtem. Nec tamen omnēs possunt esse Scīpiōnēs aut Māximī, ut urbium expūgnātiōnēs, ut pedestrīs nāvālīsve pūgnās, ut bella ā sē gesta, ut triumphōs recordentur. Est etiam quiētē et pūrē atque ēleganter āctae aetātis placida āc lēnis senectūs, 15 quālem accēpimus Platōnis, quī ūnō et octōgēsimō annō

laudātiō. Fabius pronounced the eulogy upon his own son. Funeral orations delivered by near relatives or intimate friends were preserved in the family archives. For the historical value of these addresses, see Cic. Brut. 16, 62, his laudationibus historia rerum nostrarum est facta mendosior; and Livy, VIII. 40, Vitiatam memoriam funebribus laudibus reor.

Multae... litterae. On the late development of literature at Rome, compare the well-known lines of Horace, Ep. II. 1, 156-163, in which he refers the beginning of Roman

letters to the years immediately following the Second Punic War.

illo exstincto. He died in the year 203 B.C.

Platōnis. Plato was born in Athens 429 or 428 B.C. At the age of twenty he became a pupil of Socrates. After the latter's death, he traveled extensively for about ten years, then returned to his native city, and a little later began to give instruction in philosophy to a band of young men who gathered about him in the grove of Academus. Cicero styles him deus philosophorum, N. D. II. 12, 32. Plato was doubly fort-

scrībēns est mortuus, quālem Īsocratis, quī eum librum, quī Panathēnāicus īnscrībitur, quārtō et nōnāgēsimō annō scrīpsisse sē dīcit vīxitque quīnquennium posteā; cūius magister Leontīnus Gorgiās centum et septem complēvit annōs neque umquam in suō studiō atque opere cessāvit. Quī, 5 cum ex eō quaererētur, cūr tam diū vellet esse in vītā: 'Nihil habeō,' inquit, 'quod accūsem senectūtem.' Prae-14 clārum respōnsum et doctō homine dīgnum. Sua enim vitia īnsipientēs et suam culpam in senectūtem cōnferunt; quod nōn faciēbat is, cūius modo mentiōnem fēcī, Ennius: 10

Sīcut fortis equus, spatiō quī saepe suprēmō Vīcit Olympia, nunc seniō cōnfectus quiēscit.

unate in having Socrates for his teacher and Aristotle for his pupil.

scrībēns est mortuus. Plato died 347 B.C., while writing. But according to another account, he died at a marriage feast to which he had been bidden as a guest. Nauck recalls the fact that Petrarch and Leibnitz also died with the pen in hand.

Isocratis. Isocrates was a distinguished teacher of rhetoric and oratory, first at Chios, and later in Athens. He was the lifelong friend of Plato and a most devoted admirer of Socrates. Alone of all he dared to appear in mourning after the utterly unpardonable execution of the great philosopher. After the victory of Philip of Macedon in the battle of Chæronea, 338 B.C., Isocrates is said to have been so overcome with grief for the loss of Grecian liberty that he refused all food and died of voluntary starvation. To him, Milton, in his tenth sonnet, refers: -

Broke him, as that dishonest victory

At Chæronea, fatal to liberty, Killed with report that old man eloquent.

Panathēnāicus. An address in praise of Athens, written for the great Panathenaic festival, in which the less elaborate annual celebration was merged every fourth year.

Leontīnus Gorgiās. Gorgias of Leontini, to be distinguished from Gorgias of Athens. He was born about 485 B.C., and lived, Cicero says to 107 years, but the authorities vary between 105 and 108. He was a famous teacher of rhetoric, and numbered Isocrates among his pupils. For his readiness to speak on any theme proposed for discussion, cf. Cic. De Fin. II. 1, Eorum erat iste mos, qui tum sophistae nominabantur: quorum e numero primus est ausus Leontinus Gorgias in conventu poscere quaestionem, id est,

Equī fortis et vīctōris senectūtī comparat suam. Quem quidem probē meminisse potestis; annō enim ūndēvīcēsimō post ēius mortem hī consulēs, T. Flāminīnus et M'. Acīlius, factī sunt; ille autem Caepione et Philippo iterum consulibus mortuus est, cum ego quinque et sexaginta annos natus lēgem Vocōniam māgnā vōce et bonīs lateribus suāsissem. Annōs septuāgintā nātus (tot enim vīxit Ennius) ita ferēbat duo, quae māxima putantur, onera, paupertātem et senectūtem, ut eīs paene dēlectārī vidērētur.

Etenim, cum complector animō, quattuor reperiō causās, 10 cūr senectūs misera videātur: ūnam, quod āvocet ā rēbus gerendīs; alteram, quod corpus faciat īnfīrmius; tertiam, quod prīvet ferē omnibus voluptātibus; quārtam, quod haud procul absit ā morte. Eārum, sī placet, causārum quanta quamque sit iūsta ūna quaeque, videāmus.

#### VI.

Ā rēbus gerendīs senectūs abstrahit. Quibus? An eīs, quae iuventūte geruntur et vīribus? Nūllaene igitur rēs sunt senīlēs, quae vel īnfīrmīs corporibus animō tamen administrentur? Nihil ergō agēbat Q. Māximus, nihil

iubere dicere, qua de re quis vellet audire.

T. Flāminīnus. Probably the son of the Flamininus mentioned in I. 1.

Caepione et Philippo iterum consulibus. Cn. Servilius Caepio and Q. Marcius Philippus were consuls 169 B.C. iterum applies only to Philippus, who had been consul for the first time in the year 186 B.C.

lēgem Vocōniam. The law was proposed by the tribune Q. Voconius Saxa, 169 B.C. It provided: 1, That vol. II. s. v. Voc. Lex.

no one enrolled as having 100,000 sesterces should make a woman his heir. 2, That no one enrolled should give in legacies more than would come to the heir or heirs, i.e. the heir or heirs should receive at least half the estate. The law was designed to check the extravagance of women by limiting their means, and also to keep the estate, as far as possible, in the possession of the testator's family. — Smith's Dict. Antiq.

15

L. Paulus, pater tuus, socer optimī virī, fīlī meī? Cēterī senēs, Fabriciī, Curiī, Coruncāniī, cum rem pūblicam cōnsiliō

16 et auctōritāte dēfendēbant, nihil agēbant? Ad Appī Claudī senectūtem accēdēbat etiam, ut caecus esset; tamen is, cum sententia senātūs inclīnāret ad pācem cum Pyrrhō foedusque faciendum, nōn dubitāvit dīcere illa, quae versibus persecūtus est Ennius:

L. Paulus. L. Aemilius Paulus, consul 182 and 168 B.c. and censor 164 B.c., received the surname Macedonicus on account of his victory over Perseus, king of Macedonia, at the battle of Pydna, 168 B.c. He was the father of Scipio Africanus Minor. His death occurred 160 B.c., when he was nearly seventy years of age.

fili. M. Porcius Cato, who died 152 B.C., when practor elect. He married Aemilia, daughter of Paulus.

Curiī, Fabriciī, Coruncāniī. "Such men as Fabricius, Curius, Coruncanius." C. Fabricius Luscinus was consul 282, 278, and 273 B.C. and censor 275 B.C. He was prominent in the war against Pyrrhus, 280-275 B.c., and won universal respect for his unswerving devotion to duty and his high conception of Roman honor, by refusing the proffered bribes of the king and scorning the promised assistance of a traitor who was ready to poison his master Pyrrhus. Curius Dentatus, consul 290, 275, and 274, and censor 272 B.C., ended the war with Pyrrhus by his victory over the latter at Beneventum 275 B.C. Tiberius Coruncanius, consul in 280 and Pontifex Maximus in 252 B.C. (the first plebeian elected to that office), was especially noted as a

jurist. He gained fewer military honors than Fabricius or Dentatus, but acquired great fame for his wisdom and skill in expounding the law. These three distinguished Romans are often referred to by Cicero as types of their class. They possessed those qualities which contributed so materially to the nation's success, simplicity of life, integrity of purpose, and unfaltering patriotism. Cf. Hor. Odes, I. 12, 40-41.

Appī Claudī. Appius Claudius, surnamed Caecus, the blind, was consul 307 and 296 B.C., but his fame rests principally upon his censorship in 312 B.C., during which he constructed the Appian Way, "the queen of roads," from Rome to Capua, and also built the first aqueduct for the introduction of water to Pyrrhus, after his victory at Heraclea, 280 B.C., sent Cineas to Rome to make peace. When the senators seemed inclined to accept his terms, Appius Claudius was carried into the senate-house and spoke against the proposed treaty with such power that it was rejected and the war continued. Cicero says of Appius, Tusc. V. 38, 112, in illo suo casu nec privato, nec publico muneri defuisse.

Pyrrhō. See p. 80.

Quō vōbīs mentēs, rēctae quae stāre solēbant Antehāc, dēmentēs sēsē flēxēre viāī?

cēteraque gravissimē; notum enim vobīs carmen est; et tamen ipsīus Appī exstat ōrātiō. Atque haec ille ēgit septimō decimō annō post alterum cōnsulātum, cum inter 5 duōs cōnsulātūs annī decem interfuissent cēnsorque ante superiörem consulatum fuisset; ex quo intellegitur Pyrrhī bello grandem sanē fuisse; et tamen sīc a patribus accēpi-17 mus. Nihil igitur adferunt, quī in rē gerendā versārī senectūtem negant, similēsque sunt ut sī quī gubernātōrem in 10 nāvigandō nihil agere dīcant, cum aliī mālōs scandant, aliī per foros cursent, aliī sentīnam exhauriant, ille autem clāvum tenēns quiētus sedeat in puppī, non faciat ea, quae iuvenēs. At vērō multō māiōra et meliōra facit. vīribus aut vēlocitāte aut celeritāte corporum rēs māgnae 15 geruntur, sed consilio, auctoritate, sententia; quibus non 18 modo non orbārī, sed etiam augērī senectūs solet. Nisi förte ego vöbīs, quī et mīles et tribūnus et lēgātus et consul versātus sum in variō genere bellōrum, cessāre nunc videor, cum bella non gero. At senătui, quae sint gerenda, prae- 20 scrībō et quō modō; Karthāginī male iam diū cōgitantī bellum multo ante denuntio; de qua vereri non ante desi-19 nam quam illam excīsam esse cōgnōverō. Quam palmam utinam dī immortālēs, Scīpiō, tibi reservent, ut avī reliquiās

persequāre! cūius ā morte tertius hīc et trīcēsimus annus 25

tribūnus. Every legion had six military tribunes. Some were elected by the comitia tributa, while others were appointed by the commander. Young men of wealth and influence often secured these positions, even though utterly lacking in military experience. This was espetially to a cially the Republic legate officers are sentorially to the commander.

cially true near the close of the Republic.

lēgātus. The *legati* were staff-officers and were, as a rule, men of senatorial rank, sometimes even exconsuls. They were second in authority only to the commander-in-chief.

est, sed memoriam illīus virī omnēs excipient annī cōnsequentēs. Annō ante mē cēnsōrem mortuus est, novem annīs post meum cōnsulātum, cum cōnsul iterum mē cōnsule creātus esset. Num igitur, sī ad centēsimum annum vīxisset, senectūtis eum suae paenitēret? Nec enim excursiōne 5 nec saltū nec ēminus hastīs aut comminus gladiīs ūterētur, sed cōnsiliō, ratiōne, sententiā; quae nisi essent in senibus, nōn summum cōnsilium māiōrēs nostrī appellāssent senā-20 tum. Apud Lacedaemoniōs quidem eī, quī amplissimum magistrātum gerunt, ut sunt, sīc etiam nōminantur senēs. 10 Quod sī legere aut audīre volētis externa, māximās rēs pūblicās ab adulēscentibus labefactātās, ā senibus sustentātās et restitūtās reperiētis.

Cedo, qui vestram rem publicam tantam āmīsistis tam citō?

Sīc enim percontantibus in Naevī poētae Lūdō respondentur 15 et alia et hōc in prīmīs:

Proveniebant orātores novī, stultī adulescentulī.

sīc etiam . . . senēs. The Spartan γερουσία, or council of state, contained twenty-eight members, all over sixty years of age. They were appointed for life and were presided over by the two kings. The word etiam is added because the Lacedae-monians called the members of their assembly γέρουτες, old men, while the Romans used a word of similar derivation, senatores, but not the simple term senes.

Naevī. Cn. Naevius, a younger contemporary of Rome's first poet Livius Andronicus, was born in Campania, of Latin stock. The exact date of his birth is not known, but his literary activity began in 235 B.C. Fragments only of his dramatic compositions, thirty-four comedies and seven tragedies, now remain. His greatest work was a historic poem on the Punic War, in which he had himself been a soldier, and was written in the old Saturnian measure. From the few verses which are still extant it is impossible to form a fair estimate of its literary quality.

novī. "inexperienced." Cf. Byron, Childe Harold, Canto II. 84:—

A thousand years scarce serve to form a state;

An hour may lay it in the dust.

Temeritās est vidēlicet florentis aetātis, prūdentia senēscentis.

## VII.

21 At memoria minuitur. Crēdō, nisi eam exerceās, aut etiam sī sīs nātūrā tardior. Themistoclēs omnium cīvium percēperat nōmina; num igitur cēnsētis eum, cum aetāte prōcessisset, quī Aristīdēs esset, Lȳsimachum salūtāre solitum? Equidem nōn modo eōs nōvī, quī sunt, sed eōrum patrēs etiam et avōs, nec sepulcra legēns vereor, quod āiunt, nē memoriam perdam; hīs enim ipsīs legendīs in memoriam redeō mortuōrum. Nec vērō quemquam senem audīvī oblītum, quō locō thēsaurum obruisset; omnia, quae cūrant, meminērunt, 22 vadimōnia cōnstitūta, quis sibi, cui ipsī dēbeant. Quid? iūris cōnsultī, quid? pōntificēs, quid? augurēs, quid?

**Temeritās... senēscentis.** Cf. Bacon's essay, *Youth and Age*, "Generally youth is like the first cogitations, not so wise as the second."

Themistocles. Themistocles was especially noted for his wonderful memory. That he did not always appreciate this gift may be inferred from Cic. De Fin. II. 32, 104, Themistocles quidem, cum ei Simonides, aut quis alius artem memoriae polliceretur: 'Oblivionis,' inquit, 'mallem; nam memini etiam quae nolo, oblivisci non possum quae volo.'

Aristīdēs. Aristides the Just, son of Lysimachus and contemporary of Themistocles, was a celebrated Athenian general and statesman. At the instigation of Themistocles, he was banished for a time, but recalled in the sixth year of his exile to assist in

defending his country against the invading hosts of Xerxes. Before his ostracism he had fought at Marathon; after his return he took part in the great battles of Salamis and Plataea. By his honesty and fidelity he won the respect of Athens and the neighboring Grecian states. After holding the highest positions of trust and honor, he died at an advanced age, leaving no wealth but his good name.

iūris cōnsultī. Men who expounded the law and gave advice to those desiring it. Coruncanius (VI. 15) was one of the earliest examples of this class. Until the establishment of the Empire, the opinions and writings of the jurisconsults were of a private nature, without binding force; but from the time of Augustus certain men were given the right to interpret the statutes, and their opin-

philosophī senēs quam multa meminērunt! Manent ingenia senibus, modo permaneat studium et industria, neque ea solum in clārīs et honorātīs virīs, sed in vītā etiam prīvātā et quiētā. Sophoclēs ad summam senectūtem tragoediās fēcit; quod propter studium cum rem neglegere familiārem vidērētur, ā fīliīs in iūdicium vocātus est, ut, quem ad modum nostrō mōre male rem gerentibus patribus bonīs interdīcī solet, sīc illum quasi dēsipientem ā rē familiārī remo-Tum senex dīcitur eam fābulam, quam in vērent iūdicēs. manibus habēbat et proximē scrīpserat, Oedipum Colonēum, 10 recitāsse iūdicibus quaesīsseque num illud carmen dēsipientis Quō recitātō sententiīs iūdicum est līberātus. vidērētur.

23 Num igitur hunc, num Homērum, Hēsiodum, Simōnidem,

ions had the authority of law. The Digest of Justinian's code was made up of extracts from the writings of eminent jurisconsults.

Sophocles. Sophocles was born at Colonus, near Athens, 495 B.C. He was well endowed by nature and received the best training afforded by the schools of Athens. To intellectual powers of a high order he added the charms of a beautiful person and a genial disposition. At the age of 20 he won the prize in tragic verse over the renowned Aeschylus, who was thirty years his senior, and from that time continued to be a successful competitor in the great literary contests of Greece, winning twenty first prizes and a still greater number of second. His death occurred 405 B.C. Of his numerous works, only seven tragedies have come down to us.

Oedipum Coloneum. Oedipus at Colonus. Banished from Thebes, Oedipus wandered to the grove of the Furies at Colonus and there disappeared from mortal view. For the story, see Class. Dict. s. v. Oedipus. It is now believed that the play was written by Sophocles many years before and was only revised and enlarged at this time.

Hēsiodum. Hesiod, commonly assigned to the ninth century B.C., is second only to Homer in point of antiquity. Three works now pass under his name: Works and Days, the Theogony, and the Shield of Hercules.

Simonidem. A lyric poet, who was born in Ceos, 556 B.C., and died at Syracuse, 469 B.C. His most famous composition is the epitaph on the Spartans who fell at Thermopylae. Cicero, Tusc. I. 42, 101, gives this version of it: -

Dic, hospes, Spartae nos te hic vidisse iacentes

Stēsichorum, num, quōs ante dīxī, Īsocratēn, Gorgiān, num philosophōrum prīncipēs, Pythagoram, Dēmocritum, num Platōnem, num Xenocratēn, num posteā Zēnōnem, Cleanthem aut eum, quem vōs etiam vīdistis Rōmae, Diogenem Stōicum, coēgit in suīs studiīs obmūtēscere senectūs? An 24 in omnibus studiōrum agitātiō vītae aequālis fuit? Age, ut

Dum sanctis patriae legibus obsequimur.

Stēsichorum. Stesichorus, a lyric poet of Himera in Sicily, 630-550 B.C.

Pythagoram. Pythagoras of Samos settled at Crotona in Italy about 529 B.c. and founded what is known as the Italic school of philosophy. He established a sort of religious brotherhood with strict rules of living, and taught the immortality and the transmigration of souls. The exact date of his death, like that of his birth, is unknown.

Dēmocritum. Democritus of Abdera in Thrace was born about 460 B.c. and is said to have reached the age of 104. He was the principal expounder of the atomic theory, which was originated by his friend Leucippus. He is known as the "laughing philosopher." Mayor calls him the last of the "pre-Socratic dogmatists."

**Xenocratēn.** Xenocrates, who lived from about 396 to 314 B.C., was a pupil of Plato and became, after Speusippus, the leader of the Academic school.

**Zēnōnem**. Zeno of Citium in Cyprus, founder of the Stoic school, began to teach in Athens, in the painted porch, about 308 B.c. He was probably about 50 years old at

that time, and is said to have been 98 at his death.

Cleanthem. Cleanthes was the pupil of Zeno and then his successor as the head of the Stoic school. The accounts of his age vary, but indicate that he lived to be 80 or over.

Diogenem Stōicum. Diogenes of Babylonia, called the Stoic to distinguish him from the famous Cynic of the same name, came to Rome, 155 B.C., with Carneades the Academic and Critolaus the Peripatetic, to ask the remission of a fine imposed upon the Greeks for plundering the city of Oropus after the war with Perseus. Cato violently opposed these men. On the inconsistency here involved, see on *eruditius*, p. 115.

vītae aequālis fuit. Cf. with this Longfellow's Morituri Salutamus:—

But why, you ask me, should this tale be told

To men grown old, or who are growing old?

It is too late! Ah, nothing is too late

Till the tired heart shall cease to palpitate.

Cato learned Greek at eighty; Sopho-

Wrote his grand Oedipus, and Simonides

ista dīvīna studia omittāmus, possum nōmināre ex agrō Sabīnō rūsticōs Rōmānōs, vīcīnōs et familiārēs meōs, quibus absentibus numquam ferē ūlla in agrō māiōra opera fīunt, nōn serendīs, nōn percipiendīs, nōn condendīs frūctibus. Quamquam in aliīs minus hōc mīrum est; nēmō enim est 5 tam senex, quī sē annum nōn putet posse vīvere; sed īdem in eīs ēlabōrant, quae sciunt nihil ad sē omnīnō pertinēre:

Serit arborēs, quae alterī saeclō prōsint,

25 ut ait Statius noster in Synephēbīs. Nec vērō dubitat agricola, quamvīs sit senex, quaerentī, cui serat, respon- 10

Bore off the prize of verse from his compeers,

When each had numbered more than four score years,

And Theophrastus, at four score and ten,

Had but begun his Characters of Men.

Chaucer, at Woodstock with the nightingales,

At sixty wrote the Canterbury Tales:

Goethe at Weimar, toiling to the last.

Completed Faust when eighty years were past.

These are indeed exceptions; but they show

How far the gulf-stream of our youth may flow

Into the arctic regions of our lives, Where little else than life itself survives.

Read Emerson's essay on *Old Age*, in which he says: "And if the life be true and noble, we have quite another sort of seniors than the frowzy,

timorous, peevish dotards who are falsely old—namely, the men who fear no city, but by whom cities stand; . . . as blind old Dandolo, elected Doge at 84 years, storming Constantinople at 94, and after the revolt, again victorious, and elected at the age of 96 to the throne of the Eastern Empire, which he declined, and died Doge at 97."

Statius noster. "Our fellowcountryman Statius." Caecilius Statius was an Insubrian Gaul. The exact date of his birth and death cannot be determined. He was, however, a contemporary of Ennius, and was brought to Rome 222 B.C. by Marcellus, the conqueror of the Insubrians. Through the generosity of his master he received both his freedom and a liberal education, and became the successor of Plautus as a writer of comedies. Like the other authors of his time, he followed Greek models pretty closely. Only fragments of his works now remain.

Synephēbīs. Based upon Menander's Συνέφηβοι, "The Young

dēre: 'Dīs immortālibus, quī mē non accipere modo haec ā māiōribus voluērunt, sed etiam posterīs prodere.'

#### VIII.

Et melius Caecilius de sene alteri saeclo prospiciente quam illud īdem:

> Edepol, senectūs, sī nīl quicquam aliud vitī Adportes tecum, cum advenis, unum id sat est, Quod diū vīvendō multa, quae nōn volt, videt.

Et multa fortasse, quae volt! atque in ea, quae non volt, saepe etiam adulēscentia incurrit. Illud vērō īdem Caecilius vitiosius:

> Tum equidem in senectā hōc dēputō miserrimum, Sentīre eā aetāte eumpse esse odiōsum alterī.

26 Iūcundum potius quam odiosum. Ut enim adulescentibus bonā indole praeditīs sapientēs senēs dēlectantur leviorque fit senectūs eōrum, quī ā iuventūte coluntur et dīliguntur, 15 sīc adulēscentēs senum praeceptīs gaudent, quibus ad virtūtum studia dūcuntur; nec minus intellegō mē vōbīs quam mihi võs esse iūcundōs. Sed vidētis, ut senectūs non modo languida atque iners non sit, vērum etiam sit operosa et semper agens aliquid et moliens, tale scilicet, quale cuius- 20 que studium in superiore vītā fuit. Quid? quī etiam addiscunt aliquid? ut et Solonem versibus gloriantem vidēmus,

Friends." freely from Menander (342-291 B.C.), the leading writer of the New Com-

Edepol . . . videt. See Supplementary Notes, VIII. 25.

Solonem. Solon, the famous law- | διδασκόμενος,

Statius borrowed very | giver of Athens and one of the seven wise men of Greece, flourished about 600 B.C. Some authorities give his age as 100; others put it at 80.

10

versibus. Given by Plutarch in his life of Solon, γηράσκω δ' αίεὶ πολλὰ quī sē cotīdiē aliquid addiscentem dīcit senem fierī, et ego fēcī, quī litterās Graecās senex didicī; quās quidem sīc avidē arripuī quasi diūturnam sitim explēre cupiēns, ut ea ipsa mihi nōta essent, quibus mē nunc exemplīs ūtī vidētis. Quod cum fēcisse Sōcratem in fidibus audīrem, vellem 5 equidem etiam illud (discēbant enim fidibus antīquī), sed in litterīs certē ēlabōrāvī.

#### IX.

27 Nec nunc quidem vīrēs dēsīderō adulēscentis (is enim erat locus alter dē vitiīs senectūtis), nōn plūs, quam adulēscēns taurī aut elephantī dēsīderābam. Quod est, eō decet 10 ūtī et, quicquid agās, agere prō vīribus. Quae enim vōx potest esse contemptior quam Milōnis Crotōniātae? quī

litterās Graecās. "Greek literature." Cf. Quint. XII. 11, 23; M. igitur Cato idem summus imperator, idem sapiens, idem orator, idem historiae conditor, idem iuris, idem rerum rusticarum peritissimus fuit; inter tot operas militiae, tantas domi contentiones, rudi saeculo, litteras Graecas aetate iam declinata didicit, ut esset hominibus documento, ea quoque percipi posse, quae senes concupissent.

Sōcratem. After receiving the usual training given the Athenian youth of that period, Socrates followed the occupation of his father Sophroniscus as a sculptor. He held certain civil offices and served with distinction as a soldier, giving evidence of great courage and wonderful powers of endurance. With an experience thus varied he turned his attention in middle life to philosophy, and from that time sought to teach

men in his own peculiar manner the true philosophy of life. Ridiculed and maligned for his new doctrines, he was at last brought to trial on a charge of impiety and condemned by an unrighteous judgment to drink the fatal hemlock. For Socrates' influence on Greek philosophy, see Introduction, p. 18; for a full account of his life, see Smith's *Dictionary of Biography*.

Milōnis. Milo, a pupil of Pythagoras and a celebrated athlete, flourished in the last quarter of the sixth century B.C. He won the victor's crown seven times at the Pythian games and six at the Olympic. For an account of his exploits and his marvelous appetite, see Class. Dict. Gellius, XV. 16, relates the story of his tragic death in the forest, after attempting in vain to tear apart an oak log that had been partly cleft by wedges.

cum iam senex esset āthlētāsque sē exercentīs in curriculō vidēret, aspēxisse lacertos suos dīcitur inlacrimānsque dīxisse 'At hi quidem mortuī iam sunt.' Non vēro tam istī quam tū ipse, nūgātor! neque enim ex tē umquam es nōbilitātus, sed ex lateribus et lacertīs tuīs. Nihil Sex. 5 Aelius tāle, nihil multīs annīs ante Ti. Coruncānius, nihil modo P. Crassus, ā quibus iūra cīvibus praescrībēbantur; quorum usque ad extremum spīritum est provecta pru-28 dentia. Ōrātor metuō nē languēscat senectūte; est enim mūnus ēius non ingenī solum, sed laterum etiam et vīrium. 10 Omnīnō canōrum illud in voce splendēscit etiam nēsciō quō pactō in senectūte, quod equidem adhūc nōn āmīsī, et vidētis annōs. Sed tamen est decōrus senī sermō quiētus et remīssus, facitque per sē ipsa sibi audientiam disertī senis composita et mītis ōrātiō. Quam sī ipse exsequī 15 nequeās, possīs tamen Scīpiōnī praecipere et Laeliō. Quid enim est iūcundius senectūte stīpātā studiīs iuventūtis? 29 An nē illās guidem vīrēs senectūtī relinguēmus, ut adulēscentīs doceat, īnstituat, ad omne officī mūnus īnstruat? quō quidem opere quid potest esse praeclārius? Mihi vērō 20 et Cn. et P. Scīpiōnēs et avī tuī duo, L. Aemilius et P.

Sex. Aelius. Sex. Aelius Paetus, consul 198 and censor 194 B.C., was one of the most distinguished of the early jurists. He wrote a commentary upon the XII. Tables. Cicero, Brut. 78, thus speaks of him, Sex. Aelius, iuris quidem civilis omnium peritissimus, sed etiam ad dicendum paratus.

P. Crassus. P. Licinius Crassus, consul 205 B.c., was noted for his great legal attainments, on account of which he was chosen Pontifex Maximus. He also held the offices of

praetor and censor, and served in the war against Hannibal. As he died in 183 B.C., thirty-three years before the supposed date of this dialogue, *modo* must be understood in a relative sense, "in later times," as opposed to *multis annis ante*.

Cn. et P. Scīpiōnēs. Cn. Cornelius Scipio, uncle of Africanus Maior, was consul in 222 B.c.; P. Cornelius Scipio, father of Africanus, was consul 218 B.c. and commanded the Romans in the battle of the Ticinus. The two brothers served several

Āfricānus, comitātū nōbilium iuvenum fōrtūnātī vidēbantur, nec ūllī bonārum artium magistrī nōn beātī putandī, quamvīs cōnsenuerint vīrēs atque dēfēcerint. Etsī ipsa ista dēfectiō vīrium adulēscentiae vitiīs efficitur saepius quam senectūtis; libīdinōsa enim et intemperāns adulē- 5

30 scentia effētum corpus trādit senectūtī. Cyrus quidem apud Xenophontem eō sermōne, quem moriēns habuit, cum admodum senex esset, negat sē umquam sēnsisse senectūtem suam imbēcilliōrem factam, quam adulēscentia fuisset.

Ego L. Metellum meminī puer, quī cum quadrienniō post 10

years in Spain, but were ultimately defeated and slain by Hasdrubal, 212 B.C.

avī tuī duo. L. Aemilius was his real grandfather, and P. Africanus his grandfather by adoption.

L. Aemilius. Consul 219 and 216 B.c.; fell in the battle of Cannae.

P. Āfricānus. P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Maior, the conqueror of Hannibal at Zama, 202 B.C.

Etsī... senectūtis. With the sentiment of this and the following sentence compare Shakespeare, As You Like It, Act II. sc. 3:—

Though I look old, yet am I strong and lusty;

For in my youth I never did apply

Hot and rebellious liquors in my blood;

Nor did not with unbashful forehead woo

The means of weakness and debility:

Therefore my age is as a lusty winter,

Frosty, but kindly.

Also cf. Taylor's *Holy Living*, II. sec. 2: "And Antipater, by his reproach of the old glutton Demades, well expressed the baseness of his sin, saying that Demades, now old, and always a glutton, was like a spent sacrifice, nothing left of him but his belly and his tongue; all the man besides is gone."

Cyrus: Cyrus the Elder, founder of the Persian Empire, captured Babylon 538 B.C. and released the Jews from captivity.

apud Xenophontem. In the *Cyropaedia*, VIII. 7, 6, a philosophical romance on the education of Cyrus. Xenophon, pupil of Socrates, and historical writer, is best known as the leader of the Greeks in the famous retreat of the Ten Thousand.

L. Metellum. L. Caecilius Metellus, consul 251 and 247 B.C. In his first consulship he defeated the Carthaginians at Panormus. He was made Pontifex Maximus 243 B.C., and two years later rescued the Palladium from the burning temple of Vesta, in honor of which service his statue was placed on the Capitol,

alterum consulātum pontifex māximus factus esset, vīgintī et duos annos eī sacerdotio praefuit, ita bonīs esse vīribus extrēmo tempore aetātis, ut adulēscentiam non requīreret. Nihil necesse est mihi dē mē ipso dīcere, quamquam est id quidem senīle aetātīque nostrae concēditur.

## X.

Vidētisne, ut apud Homērum saepissimē Nestor dē virtūtibus suīs praedicet? Tertiam iam enim aetātem hominum vidēbat, nec erat eī verendum, nē vēra praedicāns dē sē nimis vidērētur aut īnsolēns aut loquāx. Etenim, ut ait Homērus, 'ex ēius linguā melle dulcior fluēbat ōrātiō,' quam ad suāvitātem nūllīs egēbat corporis vīribus. Et tamen dux ille Graeciae nusquam optat, ut Āiācis similīs habeat decem, sed ut Nestōris; quod sī sibi acciderit, nōn dubitat,

32 quīn brevī sit Trōia peritūra. Sed redeō ad mē. Quārtum agō annum et octōgēsimum; vellem equidem idem possem <sup>15</sup>

apud Homērum. *Il*. I. 260; VII. 124 ff.; XI. 668 ff.

**Nestor.** Son of Neleus and king of Pylos, famous among the Grecian heroes at Troy for his wisdom and eloquence.

ut ait Homērus. Cf. Il. I. 315–322, Bryant's translation:—

But now uprose

Nestor, the master of persuasive speech,

The clear-toned Pylian orator, whose tongue

Dropped words more sweet than honey. He had seen

Two generations that grew up and lived

With him on sacred Pylos pass away,

And now he ruled the third. With prudent words

He thus addressed the assembly of the chiefs.

Āiācis . . . decem. Cf. Il. II. 371-4, Pope's translation : —

Oh! would the gods, in love to Greece, decree

But ten such sages as they grant in thee!

Such wisdom soon should Priam's force destroy;

And soon should fall the haughty towers of Troy.

Ajax, son of Telamon, king of Salamis, was second only to Achilles among the Greeks in strength and valor.

glōriārī, quod Cȳrus, sed tamen hōc queō dīcere, nōn mē quidem eīs esse vīribus, quibus aut mīles bellō Pūnicō aut quaestor eōdem bellō aut cōnsul in Hispāniā fuerim aut quadrienniō post, cum tribūnus mīlitāris dēpūgnāvī apud Thermopylās M'. Glabriōne cōnsule; sed tamen, ut vōs vidētis, nōn plānē mē ēnervāvit, nōn adflīxit senectūs, nōn cūria vīrēs meās dēsīderat, nōn rōstra, nōn amīcī, nōn clientēs, nōn hospitēs. Nec enim umquam sum adsēnsus veterī illī laudātōque prōverbiō, quod monet 'mātūrē fierī senem, sī diū velīs senex esse.' Ego vērō mē minus diū senem esse māllem quam esse senem, ante quam essem. Itaque nēmō adhūc convenīre mē voluit, cui fuerim occupātus. At minus habeō vīrium quam vestrūm utervīs. Nē vōs quidem T. Pontī centuriōnis vīrēs habētis; num idcircō est ille

cōnsul in Hispāniā. In 195 B.C. Thermopylās . . . cōnsule. M'. Acilius Glabrio, consul 191 B.C., gained a signal victory over Antiochus, king of Syria, on the famous battle ground of Thermopylae in Greece. Cato contributed very largely to the success of the Romans by forcing his way over the mountains and attacking the enemy in the rear. He was publicly thanked by the consul, and sent to Rome with news of the victory. See Liddell's Hist. of Rome, pp. 435, 436.

cūria . . . rōstra. Put by metonymy for the senate and people. rostra (plural of rostrum) was the name given to the platform in the Forum from which speakers addressed the people. It was so called from the ships' beaks, taken from the Antiates in the Latin War, 338 B.C., with which it was adorned. Cicero, Brut.

20, 80, says that Cato addressed the people the last year of his life, qui (Cato) annos quinque et octoginta natus excessit e vita, cum quidem eo ipso anno contra Ser. Galbam ad populum summa contentione dixisset, quam etiam orationem scriptam reliquit.

clientēs. It was the custom for plebeians to ally themselves to powerful patricians. The client remained free, but received protection and assistance from his patronus, and in return followed and defended him in war. The Lusitanians chose Cato as their patron, and it was in their behalf that he delivered the oration against the pro-praetor Ser. Galba.

**T. Pontī centuriōnis.** Probably some centurion famous for his strength. The men who held this office were usually chosen on account of their size and strength.

praestantior? Moderātiō modo vīrium adsit, et tantum, quantum potest quisque nītātur, nē ille non māgno dēsīderio tenēbitur vīrium. Olympiae per stadium ingressus esse Milō dīcitur, cum umerīs sustinēret bovem. Utrum igitur hās corporis an Pythagorae tibi mālīs vīrēs ingenī darī? 5 Dēnique istō bonō ūtāre, dum adsit, cum absit, nē requīrās, nisi forte adulescentes pueritiam, paululum aetate progressī adulēscentiam dēbent requīrere. Cursus est certus aetātis et ūna via nātūrae, eaque simplex, suaque cuique partī aetātis tempestīvitās est data, ut et īnfīrmitās puerō- 10 rum et ferōcitās iuvenum et gravitās iam constantis aetātis et senectūtis mātūritās nātūrāle quiddam habeat, quod suō 34 tempore percipī dēbeat. Audīre tē arbitror, Scīpiō, hospes tuus avītus Masinissa quae faciat hodiē nōnāgintā nātus annōs; cum ingressus iter pedibus sit, in equum omnīnō 15 non ascendere; cum autem equo, ex equo non descendere; nūllō imbrī, nūllō frigore addūcī, ut capite opertō sit, summam esse in eō siccitātem corporis, itaque omnia exsequī rēgis officia et mūnera. Potest igitur exercitātiō et temperantia etiam in senectūte conservare aliquid prīstini roboris. 20

**Olympiae.** Olympia was a district in Elis in Peloponnesus, where the Olympian games were held.

Masinissa. Masinissa, king of Numidia, was the guest-friend of Scipio's adoptive grandfather, Scipio Africanus Maior. At the outbreak of the Second Punic War, the Numidian prince, who was then quite young, prevailed upon his father, Gala, to take up arms against the Romans. He fought with success in Spain, and aided in the overthrow of Gnaeus and Publius Scipio, 212 B.C. But a few years later, he deserted the Car-

thaginians, formed an alliance with Scipio, and urged him to invade Africa. The victory of the Romans at Zama was made more certain by the valor of Masinissa and his wild cavalry, and in return for the valuable services which he rendered, he was securely established upon the throne of Numidia, reigning over the entire country from Mauritania to Cyrene. From that time Masinissa remained the foe of Carthage, but he did not live to see its downfall, as he died 148 B.C., at the age of 90.

#### XI.

Non sunt in senectūte vīrēs. Nē postulantur quidem vīrēs ā senectūte. Ergō et lēgibus et īnstitūtīs vacat aetās nostra mūneribus eīs, quae non possunt sine vīribus sustinērī. Itaque non modo, quod non possumus, sed nē quan-35 tum possumus quidem cogimur. At multī ita sunt inbe- 5 cillī senēs, ut nūllum officī aut omnīnō vītae mūnus exsequī possint. At id quidem non proprium senectūtis vitium est, sed commune valētudinis. Quam fuit inbēcillus P. Āfricānī fīlius, is quī tē adoptāvit, quam tenuī aut nūllā potius valētūdine! Quod nī ita fuisset, alterum illud exstitisset 10 lūmen cīvitātis; ad paternam enim māgnitūdinem animī doctrīna ūberior accesserat. Quid mīrum igitur in senibus, sī īnfīrmī sint aliquandō, cum id nē adulēscentēs quidem effugere possint? Resistendum, Laelī et Scīpiō, senectūtī est, ēiusque vitia dīligentiā compēnsanda sunt; pūgnandum 15 36 tamquam contrā morbum sīc contrā senectūtem, habenda ratio valetūdinis, ūtendum exercitātionibus modicīs, tantum cibī et pōtiōnis adhibendum, ut reficiantur vīrēs, non opprimantur. Nec vērō corporī sōlum subveniendum est, sed mentī atque animō multō magis; nam haec quoque, nisi 20 tamquam lūminī oleum īnstīllēs, exstinguuntur senectūte. Et corpora quidem exercitătionum defatīgātione ingravē-

mūneribus eīs. Under the Republic, the legal period during which Roman citizens were under obligation to serve in the army was between the ages of 17 and 46. In cases of great emergency, however, they might be called out for military service when still older. See Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, s.v. Exercitus.

filius. He bore his father's name, Publius Cornelius Scipio. Cf. Cic. De Off. I. 33; also Brut. 19, 77, filius quidem eius, is qui hunc minorem Scipionem a Paulo adoptavit, si corpore valuisset, in primis habitus esset disertus; indicant cum oratiunculae tum historia quaedam Graeca scripta dulcissime.

scunt, animī autem exercendō levantur. Nam quōs ait Caecilius 'cōmicōs stultōs senēs,' hōs sīgnificat crēdulōs, oblīviōsōs, dissolūtōs, quae vitia sunt non senectūtis, sed inertis, īgnāvae, somnīculosae senectūtis. Ut petulantia, ut libīdō magis est adulēscentium quam senum, nec tamen omnium adulēscentium, sed non proborum, sīc ista senīlis stultitia, quae delīrātio appellārī solet, senum levium est, 37 non omnium. Quattuor robustos filios, quinque filias, tantam domum, tantās clientēlās Appius regēbat et caecus et senex; intentum enim animum tamquam arcum habēbat 10 nec languēscēns succumbēbat senectūtī. Tenēbat non modo auctoritatem, sed etiam imperium in suos: metuebant servi, verēbantur līberī, cārum omnēs habēbant; vigēbat in illā 38 domō mōs patrius et disciplīna. Ita enim senectūs honesta est, sī sē ipsa dēfendit, sī iūs suum retinet, sī nēminī 15 ēmancipāta est, sī usque ad ūltimum spīritum dominātur in suōs. Ut enim adulescentem in quō est senīle aliquid, sīc senem in quō est aliquid adulēscentis probō; quod quī sequitur, corpore senex esse poterit, animō numquam erit. Septimus mihi liber Orīginum est in manibus; omnia 20

regēbat. The power of the household father was largely due to his priestly character. He inherited from his predecessor the supervision of the ancestral worship, and was amenable only to the gods for the character of his domestic government. father's power extended over all the persons and property of the patriarchal family. — Morey's Law, p. 5. But the authority of the father, though at first unlimited, was afterwards restricted, from time to time, both by law and custom, until, under the Empire, it finally lost Introduction, p. 35.

most of its harsh and arbitrary feat-

Originum. The first book covered the period of the kings; the second and third gave the origin and early history of the Italian states; the fourth and fifth contained the history of the First and Second Punic Wars; the sixth and seventh books brought the history down to the last year of Cato's life. The name of the entire work, Origines, is probably due to the character of the second and third books. For its historical value, see

antīquitātis monumenta colligō; causārum inlūstrium, quāscumque dēfendī, nunc cum māximē conficio orātiones; iūs augurium, pontificium, cīvīle tracto; multum etiam Graecīs litterīs ūtor Pythagorēōrumque more exercendae memoriae grātiā, quid quoque die dīxerim, audīerim, egerim, commemorō vesperī. Hae sunt exercitātionēs ingenī, haec curricula mentis, in hīs dēsūdāns atque ēlaborāns corporis vīrēs non māgno opere dēsīdero. Adsum amīcīs, veniō in senātum frequēns ūltrōque adferō rēs multum et diū cogitātās easque tueor animī, non corporis vīribus. 10 Quās sī exsequī nequīrem, tamen mē lectulus meus oblectāret ea ipsa cōgitantem, quae iam agere nōn possem; sed ut possim, facit ācta vīta. Semper enim in hīs studiīs laboribusque vīventī non intellegitur quando obrēpat senectūs. Ita sēnsim sine sēnsū aetās senēscit nec subitō 15 frangitur, sed diūturnitāte exstinguitur.

ōrātiōnēs. For Cicero's opinion of Cato as an orator, see Brut. 17, 65, Quis illo gravior in laudando? acerbior in vituperando? in sententiis argutior? in docendo edisserendoque subtilior? Refertae sunt orationes amplius centum quinquaginta, quas quidem adhuc invenerim, et legerim, et verbis et rebus inlustribus. Omnes oratoriae virtutes in eis reperientur. For Cato's famous definition of an orator, see Quint. XII. I. 1, Sit ergo nobis orator, quem constituimus, is, qui a M. Catone finitur, 'vir bonus dicendi peritus'; verum, id quod et ille posuit prius, et ipsa natura potius ac maius est, utique 'vir bonus.'

**Graecīs litterīs**. See note on p. 48.

ācta vīta. "Past life." Cf. Bryant's beautiful poem The Old Man's Counsel:—

Wisely, my son, while yet thy days are long,

And this fair change of seasons passes slow,

Gather and treasure up the good they yield —

All that they teach of virtue, of pure thoughts

And kind affections, reverence for thy God

And for thy brethren; so when thou shalt come

Into these barren years, thou may'st not bring

A mind unfurnished and a withered heart.

#### XII.

Sequitur tertia vituperātiō senectūtis, quod eam carēre 39 dīcunt voluptātibus. O praeclārum mūnus aetātis, siquidem id aufert ā nōbīs, quod est in adulēscentiā vitiōsissimum! Accipite enim, optimī adulēscentēs, veterem ōrātiōnem Archytae Tarentīnī, māgnī in prīmīs et praeclārī 5 virī, quae mihi trādita est, cum essem adulēscēns Tarentī cum Q. Māximō. Nūllam capitāliōrem pestem quam voluptātem corporis hominibus dīcēbat ā nātūrā datam, cūius voluptātis avidae libīdinēs temerē et ecfrēnātē ad potien-40 dum incitarentur. Hinc patriae proditiones, hinc rerum 10 pūblicārum ēversionēs, hinc cum hostibus clandestīna colloquia nāscī; nūllum dēnique scelus, nūllum malum facinus esse, ad quod suscipiendum non libīdo voluptātis impelleret; stupra vērō et adulteria et omne tāle flāgitium nūllīs excitārī aliīs inlecebrīs nisi voluptātis; cumque hominī 15 sīve nātūra sīve quis deus nihil mente praestābilius dedisset, huic dīvīnō mūnerī ac dōnō nihil tam esse inimīcum 41 quam voluptātem; nec enim libīdine dominante temperantiae locum esse, neque omnīnō in voluptātis rēgnō virtūtem posse consistere. Quod quo magis intellegi posset, fingere 20 animō iubēbat tantā incitātum aliquem voluptāte corporis, quanta percipī posset māxima; nēminī cēnsēbat fore dubium, quīn tam diū, dum ita gaudēret, nihil agitāre

Archytae Tarentīnī. Archytas, a distinguished soldier and statesman of Tarentum, flourished about 400 B.c. He was a follower of Pythagoras, a friend of Plato, and eminent for his attainments in mathematics, astronomy, and philosophy. Horace refers to him, *Odes*, I. 28.

libīdine . . . temperantiae . . . esse. Cf. Taylor's Holy Living, II.2: "Sobriety is the bridle of the passions of desire, and Temperance is the bit and curb of that bridle, a restraint put into a man's mouth"; also De Off., I. 39, praestantissimum est appetitum obtemperare rationi.

mente, nihil ratione, nihil cogitatione consequi posset. Quōcircā nihil esse tam dētestābile tamque pestiferum quam voluptātem, siquidem ea, cum māior esset atque longinquior, omne animi lümen exstingueret. Haec cum C. Pontiō Samnīte, patre ēius, ā quō Caudīnō proeliō Sp. Postumius, T. Veturius consules superatī sunt, locūtum Archytam Nearchus Tarentīnus, hospes noster, quī in amīcitiā populī Romānī permānserat, sē ā māioribus nātū accēpisse dīcēbat, cum quidem eī sermonī interfuisset Plato Athēniensis, quem Tarentum vēnisse L. Camillo, Ap. 10 42 Claudiō consulibus reperio. Quorsus hoc? Ut intellegerētis, sī voluptātem āspernārī ratione et sapientiā non possēmus, māgnam habendam esse senectūtī grātiam, quae efficeret, ut id non liberet, quod non oporteret. Impedit enim consilium voluptas, rationi inimica est, mentis, ut ita 15 dīcam, praestringit oculōs nec habet ūllum cum virtūte

C. Pontiō Samnīte. C. Pontius Herennius was the father of C. Pontius Telesinus, who defeated the Romans in the Second Samnite War, 321 B.C., at Caudium in Samnium, and sent them under the yoke. For an account of this famous battle, and for the defeat and death of Pontius at the close of the war, see Liddell, pp. 214, 215.

Sp. Postumius. Sp. Postumius Albinus was consul 334 and 321 B.C.

**T.** Veturius. T. Veturius Calvinus was twice the colleague of Postumius in the consulship. After their disgrace at Caudium, a dictator was appointed.

**Nearchus.** A Pythagorean philosopher, in whose home Cato was entertained at Tarentum, after the re-

capture of the city in 209 B.C. From him Cato learned the principles of Pythagoras' philosophy.

in amīcitiā . . . permānserat. The city was betrayed and delivered to Hannibal by those who were hostile to the Romans, 212 B.C. See on IV. 10 and 11.

cum quidem . . . Athēniēnsis. This clause is to be taken with locutum. Plato visited Italy 361 B.c., but it is hardly probable that he went again at the time here indicated, 349 B.c., for he was then about eighty years old.

L. Camillō . . . cōnsulibus. L. Furius Camillus, a descendant of the great Camillus, and Appius Claudius Crassinus were consuls in the year 349 B.C.

commercium. Invītus fēcī, ut fortissimī virī T. Flāminīnī frātrem, L. Flāminīnum, ē senātū ēicerem septem annīs post, quam consul fuisset, sed notandam putāvī libīdinem. Ille enim, cum esset consul in Gallia, exoratus in convivio ā scortō est, ut secūrī ferīret aliquem eōrum, quī in vin- 5 culīs essent, damnātī reī capitālis. Hīc Titō frātre suō cēnsore, qui proximus ante mē fuerat, ēlapsus est; mihi vērō et Flaccō neutiquam probārī potuit tam flāgitiōsa et tam perdita libīdō, quae cum probrō prīvātō coniungeret imperī dēdecus.

#### XIII.

Saepe audīvī ex māiōribus nātū, guī sē porrō puerōs ā 43 senibus audīsse dīcēbant, mīrārī solitum C. Fabricium, quod, cum apud rēgem Pyrrhum lēgātus esset, audīsset ā Thessalō

T. Flāminīnī. See p. 46.

L. Flāminīnum. L. Quinctius Flamininus served as a naval commander under his brother in the war against Philip of Macedon, and was consul 192 B.C. He had Cisalpine Gaul as his province, and carried on war against the Boii.

septem annīs. Cato was censor 184 B.C., so that septem annis must be understood as seven full years.

Titō . . . fuerat. 189 B.C. The censors were chosen every five years.

Flacco. L. Valerius Flaccus, colleague of Cato in his consulship 195 B.c., and in the censorship 184.

apud . . . Pyrrhum. "At the court of King Pyrrhus." Pyrrhus, claiming descent from the warlike Achilles, was born 318 B.C., and became the king of Epirus in the year 295 B.C. He was a brave soldier, a generous foe, and one of the most skillful generals that the Romans ever met. His invasion of Italy was due to a request from the people of Tarentum to aid them in their struggle against Rome. In 280 B.c. he gained a victory at Heraclea, but he could do nothing more than temporarily check the progress of the indomitable Romans. In 278 he went to Sicily, and aided the people against Carthage. Returning to Italy two years later, he was beaten in the decisive battle of Beneventum, and soon afterward he withdrew from Italian soil. While engaged in war with Argos, 272 B.C., he was killed by a tile thrown from a house-top by the hand of a woman, - a most inglorious death for so brave a soldier and so brilliant a commander.

10

Cīneā esse quendam Athēnīs, quī sē sapientem profitērētur, eumque dīcere omnia, quae facerēmus, ad voluptātem esse referenda. Quod ex eō audientīs M'. Curium et Ti. Coruncānium optāre solitōs, ut id Samnītibus ipsīque Pyrrhō persuādērētur, quō facilius vincī possent, cum sē voluptātibus dedissent. Vīxerat M'. Curius cum P. Deciō, quī quīn-

Cīneā. Cineas the Thessalian was the chief adviser of King Pyrrhus. He had been a pupil of Demosthenes, and was himself an orator of marked ability. Pyrrhus was very materially aided in his plans for conquest by the wise counsels and skillful diplomacy of Cineas. For his embassy to Rome, see on *Appi Claudi*, p. 61. He probably died while Pyrrhus was in Sicily, as we hear no more of him after that time.

quendam Athēnīs. **Epicurus** (341-270 B.C.) began his teaching about 306 B.C., in Athens, and became the founder of the philosophical school called from his name. In physics, he adopted, for the most part, the atomic theory of Democritus, which is set forth at considerable length in the De Natura Rerum of Lucretius. In ethics he taught that pleasure is the highest good, but he places permanent tranquillity above momentary gratification, and prefers mental pleasures to bodily, as better in themselves and more enduring. "The wise man, i.e. the virtuous man, is happy because he is free from the fears of the gods and of death, because he has learned to moderate his passions and desires, because he knows how to estimate and compare pleasures and pains, so as to secure the largest amount of the former with the least of the latter." — Mayor. In criticising Epicurus, Cicero followed the popular interpretation of his philosophy, understanding "pleasure" in a bodily sense, while, as a matter of fact, Epicurus' doctrine and life were based upon a higher and purer conception of the term.

P. Deciō. P. Decius Mus, consul 312, 308, 297, 295 B.C., sacrificed his life in the battle of Sentinum, in the Third Samnite War, in order to bring victory to the Roman arms. By his bold act the soldiers were inspired with new courage, the day was won, and the power of Samnium broken See Liddell, p. 213. Liv. X. 28, 13, datum hoc nostro generi est ut luendis periculis publicis piacula simus; iam ego mecum hostium legiones mactandas Telluri et deis manibus dabo. The father of this Decius, also named P. Decius Mus, sacrificed his life in like manner in the Latin War at the battle near Mt. Vesuvius, 340 B.C. Cicero, in the Tusculan Disputations, mentions a third Decius, who followed the example of his father and grandfather, and devoted his life, in the battle of Asculum, in the war with Pyrrhus, 279 B.C., Tusc. I. 37, 89, quae quidem quenniō ante eum cōnsulem sē prō rē pūblicā quārtō cōnsulātū dēvōverat; nōrat eundem Fabricius, nōrat Coruncānius; quī cum ex suā vītā, tum ex ēius, quem dīcō, Decī, factō iūdicābant esse profectō aliquid nātūrā pulchrum atque praeclārum, quod suā sponte peterētur, quodque 5 sprētā et contemptā voluptāte optimus quisque sequerētur.

44 Quōrsus igitur tam multa dē voluptāte? Quia nōn modo vituperātiō nūlla, sed etiam summa laus senectūtis est, quod ea voluptātēs nūllās māgnoperē dēsīderat. Caret epulīs exstrūctīsque mēnsīs et frequentibus pōculīs; caret 10 ergō etiam vīnulentiā et crūditāte et īnsomniīs. Sed sī aliquid dandum est voluptātī, quoniam ēius blanditiīs nōn facile obsistimus (dīvīnē enim Platō 'ēscam malōrum' appellat voluptātem, quod eā vidēlicet hominēs capiantur ut piscēs), quamquam immoderātīs epulīs caret senectūs, 15 modicīs tamen convīviīs dēlectārī potest. C. Duellium M. fīlium, quī Poenōs classe prīmus dēvīcerat, redeuntem ā cēnā senem saepe vidēbam puer; dēlectābātur cēreō fūnālī et tībīcine, quae sibi nūllō exemplō prīvātus sūmpserat;

si timeretur... non cum Latinis decertans pater Decius, cum Etruscis filius, cum Pyrrho nepos, se hostium telis obiecissent. The story of the grandson, however, is not very well authenticated; see Smith's Dict. of Riog.

vīnulentiā. Cf. Juvenal, Sat. I. 142-144, in regard to over-indulgence at banquets. Poena tamen praesens, . . . Hinc subitae mortes atque intestata senectus.

**ēscam malōrum.** Cf. Plato's *Timaeus*, 69, "pleasure, the greatest incitement to evil."

C. Duellium. Duellius gained a

signal victory over the Carthaginian fleet near Mylae, on the coast of Sicily, 260 B.C. The famous corvi, grappling bridges, were used in this fight. The columna rostrata was erected in the Forum to commemorate the victory. A later version of the inscription upon the column is still extant. For the battle, see Liddell, pp. 269, 270.

sūmpserat. Cf. Florus, I. 18, 10, Cum Duellius imperator, non contentus unius diei triumpho, per vitam omnem, ubi a cena rediret, praelucere funalia et praecinere sibi tibias iussit, quasi cotidie triumpharet. 45 tantum licentiae dabat glōria. Sed quid ego aliōs? Ad mē ipsum iam revertar. Prīmum habuī semper sodālīs. Sodālitātēs autem mē quaestōre cōnstitūtae sunt sacrīs Īdaeīs Māgnae Mātris acceptīs. Epulābar igitur cum sodālibus omnīnō modicē, sed erat quīdam fervor aetātis; quā prōgrediente omnia fīunt in diēs mītiōra. Neque enim ipsōrum convīviōrum dēlectātiōnem voluptātibus corporis magis quam coetū amīcōrum et sermōnibus mētiēbar. Bene enim māiōrēs accubitiōnem epulārem amīcōrum, quia vītae coniūnctiōnem habēret, convīvium nōmināvērunt, melius quam Graecī, quī hōc idem tum compōtātiōnem, tum concēnātiōnem vocant, ut, quod in eō genere minimum est, id māximē probāre videantur.

# XIV.

46 Ego vērō propter sermōnis dēlectātiōnem tempestīvīs quoque convīviīs dēlector, nec cum aequālibus sōlum, quī 15 paucī admodum restant, sed cum vestrā etiam aetāte atque vōbīscum, habeōque senectūtī māgnam grātiam, quae mihi

Reid suggests that this honor was probably conferred upon him by the *comitia tributa*, and not assumed on his own authority.

Sodālitātēs. "Clubs, societies." These brotherhoods, sometimes for religious purposes, sometimes for political, combined banquets and social features with their other duties. Their origin belongs to the earliest years of Rome, and was probably based upon kinship, union through the same clan or gens. The text means that new societies were founded at this time, not that the institution itself first became known.

quaestore. In the year 204 B.C.

sacrīs Īdaeīs . . . acceptīs. The worship of Cybele, magna mater deorum, was introduced into Rome, 204 B.C., when the image of the goddess was brought from Pessinus in Phrygia, and placed in the temple of Victory, on the Palatine hill. The sacred statue was received by P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, chosen for the service because of his purity of character. The Megalesian festival and games were established in honor of Cybele, and observed in April. Cf. Ov. Fast. IV. 249 ff.

**quā** . . . **fīunt**. Cf. Hor. *Ep*. II. 2, 211.

Lenior et melior fis, accedente senecta?

sermonis aviditātem auxit, potionis et cibī sustulit. Quod sī quem etiam ista dēlectant (nē omnīnō bellum indīxisse videar voluptātī, cūius est fortasse quīdam nātūrālis modus), non intellego ne in istīs quidem ipsīs voluptātibus carere sēnsū senectūtem. Mē vērō et magisteria dēlectant ā māiō- 5 ribus īnstitūta et is sermō, quī mōre māiōrum ā summō adhibētur in pōculō, et pōcula, sīcut in Symposiō Xenophontis est, minūta atque rōrantia et refrīgerātiō aestāte et vicissim aut sol aut īgnis hībernus; quae quidem etiam in Sabīnīs persequī soleō convīviumque vīcīnōrum cotīdiē 10 compleō, quod ad multam noctem, quam māximē possumus, 47 variō sermōne prōdūcimus. At nōn est voluptātum tanta quasi tītillātiō in senibus. Crēdō, sed nē dēsīderātiō quidem; nihil autem est molestum, quod non desideres. Bene Sophocles, cum ex eo quidam iam adfecto aetate quaereret, 15 ūterēturne rēbus veneriīs: 'Dī meliōra!' inquit; 'libenter vērō istinc sīcut ab dominō agrestī āc furiōsō profūgī.' Cupidīs enim rērum tālium odiōsum fortasse et molestum est carēre, satiātīs vērō et explētīs iūcundius est carēre quam fruī. Quamquam non caret is, quī non dēsīderat; 20 48 ergō hōc nōn dēsīderāre dīcō esse iūcundius. Quod sī istīs ipsīs voluptātibus bona aetās fruitur libentius, prīmum parvulīs fruitur rēbus, ut dīximus, deinde eīs, quibus senectūs etiamsī non abundē potītur, non omnīno caret. Ut Tur-

magisteria. "Presidencies," referring to the office of master of the feast, magister, rex, or arbiter bibendi, corresponding to the Greek  $\sigma v \mu \pi \sigma \sigma l = a \rho \chi \sigma s$ . A member of the company was chosen by lot to preside at the banquet and lead in the merrymaking. Reid refers magisteria to officers elected annually by the so-

dalicia to attend to the club-dinners, and having more important duties than those of the arbiter bibendi.

Symposiō. The Banquet of the Philosophers, an imaginary dialogue between Socrates and his friends at a dinner given by the Athenian Callias.

Turpione. Lucius Ambivius Turpio was the most noted actor and

piōne Ambiviō magis dēlectātur, quī in prīmā caveā spectat, dēlectātur tamen etiam, quī in ūltimā, sīc adulēscentia voluptātēs propter intuēns magis fōrtasse laetātur, sed dēlectātur etiam senectūs procul eās spectāns tantum, 49 quantum sat est. At illa quantī sunt, animum tamquam 5 ēmeritīs stīpendiīs libīdinis, ambitiōnis, contentiōnis, inimī-

ēmeritīs stīpendiīs libīdinis, ambitionis, contentionis, inimīcitiārum, cupiditātum omnium sēcum esse sēcumque, ut dīcitur, vīvere! Sī vēro habet aliquod tamquam pābulum studī atque doctrīnae, nihil est otiosā senectūte iūcundius. Vidēbāmus in studio dīmētiendī paene caelī atque terrae 10 C. Galum, familiārem patris tuī, Scīpio. Quotiēns illum lūx noctū aliquid dēscrībere ingressum, quotiēns nox opsopressit, cum māne coepisset! Quam dēlectābat eum dēfec-

tiōnēs sōlis et lūnae multō ante nōbīs praedīcere! Quid in leviōribus studiīs, sed tamen acūtīs? Quam gaudēbat bellō 15 suō Pūnicō Naevius! quam Truculentō Plautus, quam

theatrical manager of Cato's time. He and his company brought out the comedies of Terence.

**ēmeritīs stīpendiīs.** A metaphor from military life; an old man is likened to a soldier who has completed his service. Compare this with the following from Emerson's Old Age:—

"We live in youth amid this rabble of passions, quite too tender, quite too hungry and irritable. Later, the interiors of mind and heart open, and supply grander motives. We learn the fatal compensations that wait on every act. Then, — one after another, — this riotous, time-destroying crew disappear." . . . "When life has been well spent, age is a loss of what it can well spare, — muscular strength, organic instincts, gross

bulk, and works that belong to these. But the central wisdom, which was old in infancy, is young in fourscore years, and, dropping off obstructions, leaves in happy subjects the mind purified and wise."

Galum. C. Sulpicius Galus, consul, 166 B.C., was noted for his literary culture, and especially for his skill as an astronomer. Before the battle of Pydna, 168 B.C., he predicted an eclipse of the moon, and thus allayed the superstitious fears of the soldiers.

Plautus. T. Maccius Plautus was born about 254 B.C., at Sarsina, in Umbria, and died 184 B.C. But little is known of his life. He began to write for the stage when about thirty years of age, and produced, if the accounts be true, a large number of

Pseudolō! Vīdī etiam senem Līvium; quī, cum sex annīs ante quam ego nātus sum fābulam docuisset Centōne Tuditānōque cōnsulibus, usque ad adulēscentiam meam prōcessit aetāte. Quid dē P. Licinī Crassī et pōntificiī et cīvīlis iūris studiō loquar aut dē hūius P. Scīpiōnis quī hīs paucīs diēbus pōntifex māximus factus est? Atque eōs omnīs, quōs commemorāvī, hīs studiīs flagrantīs senēs vīdimus. M. vērō Cethēgum, quem rēctē 'Suādae medullam' dīxit Ennius, quantō studiō exercērī in dīcendō vidēbāmus etiam senem! Quae sunt igitur epulārum aut lūdōrum aut scortōrum voluptātēs cum hīs voluptātibus comparandae? Atque haec quidem studia doctrīnae, quae quidem prūdentibus et bene īnstitūtīs pariter cum aetāte crēscunt, ut honestum illud Solōnis sit, quod ait versiculō quōdam, ut ante dīxī,

comedies; but of the 130 plays ascribed to him, only twenty-one are regarded as certainly genuine. Of these, twenty are still extant. They are all from Greek sources and belong to the earliest period in Roman literature. Truculentus (the Grumbler), and Pseudolus (the name of a slave), are two of his comedies.

Līvium. Livius Andronicus, a Greek born in Tarentum, about 285 B.C., was taken prisoner by the Romans and became the slave possibly of M. Livius Salinator. Subsequently he was set free and began life as a teacher of Greek and Latin. He translated the Odyssey into Latin verse for the use of his pupils. In the year 240 B.C., he brought out on the stage a Latin tragedy and comedy, borrowed from Greek sources. This date marks the beginning of Roman literature. Cf. Hor. Ep. II. 1, 156, ff.

Centōne Tuditānōque. C. Claudius Cento, son of Appius Claudius Caecus, and M. Sempronius Tuditanus, were consuls 240 B.C.

hūius P. Scīpiōnis. Of the present Publius Scipio. Cf. hi consules, V. 14. P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica was surnamed Corculum, on account of his legal attainments and eminence as a jurist.

M. Cethēgum. Cicero, Brut. 15, 57, calls Cethegus the first Roman orator, primus est M. Cornelius Cethegus, cuius eloquentiae est auctor et idoneus quidem mea sententia Q. Ennius, praesertim cum et ipse eum audiverit et scribat de mortuo.

Suādae medullam. Cf. Brut. 15, 59, 'Suadaeque medulla,' πειθώ quam vocant Graeci, cuius effector est orator, hanc Suadam appellavit Ennius. According to Cicero, Ennius also called Cethegus suaviloquens.

senēscere sē multa in diēs addiscentem, quā voluptāte animī nūlla certē potest esse māior.

## XV.

Veniō nunc ad voluptātēs agricolārum, quibus ego incrēdibiliter dēlector; quae nec ūllā impediuntur senectūte et mihi ad sapientis vītam proximē videntur accēdere. Habent enim rationem cum terrā, quae numquam recūsat imperium nec umquam sine ūsūrā reddit, quod accēpit, sed aliās minore, plērumque māiore cum faenore. Quamquam mē quidem non frūctus modo, sed etiam ipsīus terrae vīs ac nātūra dēlectat. Quae cum gremiō mollītō āc subactō sparsum sēmen excēpit, prīmum id occaecātum cohibet,

ad voluptātēs agricolārum. The Romans considered farming the only honorable employment for men of senatorial rank. Cicero himself was fond of country life, and very fitly attributes these words to Cato, who was thoroughly familiar with rural affairs and took great delight in his Sabine estate. In his De Re Rustica, Cato says: Et virum bonum cum (maiores nostri) laudabant, ita laudabant, 'bonum agricolam bonumque colonum'; and ibid. 4, At ex agricolis et viri fortissimi, et milites strenuissimi gignuntur, maximeque pius quaestus, stabilissimusque consequitur, minimeque invidiosus: minimeque male cogitantes sunt, qui in eo studio occupati sunt. Horace sings the praises of a farmer's life in Epod. 2, -

Beatus ille, qui procul negotiis, Ut prisca gens mortalium, Paterna rura bobus exercet suis. Cf. also Verg. Geor. II. 513, ff. (Dryden's translation):—

The peasant, innocent of all these ills, With crooked plow the fertile fallows tills,

And the round year with daily labor fills.

Such was the life the frugal Sabines led:

So Remus and his brother god were bred,

From whom th' austere Etrurian virtue rose;

And this rude life our homely fathers chose.

Old Rome from such a race deriv'd her birth

(The seat of empire, and the conquered earth),

Which now on sev'n high hills triumphant reigns,

And in that compass all the world contains.

ex quō occātiō, quae hōc efficit, nōmināta est, deinde tepefactum vapore et compressu suo diffundit et elicit herbescentem ex eō viriditātem, quae nīxa fibrīs stirpium sēnsim adulēscit culmoque ērēcta geniculāto vāgīnīs iam quasi pūbēscēns inclūditur; ex quibus cum ēmersit, fundit frū- 5 gem spīcī ōrdine strūctam et contrā avium minōrum morsūs 52 mūnītur vāllō aristārum. Quid ego vītium ortūs, satūs, incrēmenta commemorem? Satiārī dēlectātione non possum, ut meae senectūtis requiem oblectāmentumque nōscātis. Omittō enim vim ipsam omnium, quae generantur ē terrā; 10 quae ex fīcī tantulō grānō aut ex acinī vīnāceō aut ex cēterārum frūgum aut stirpium minūtissimīs sēminibus tantōs truncos ramosque procreet. Malleoli, plantae, sarmenta. vīvirādīcēs, propagines nonne efficient, ut quemvīs cum admīrātione delectent? Vītis quidem, quae nātūrā cadūca 15 est et, nisi fulta est, fertur ad terram, eadem, ut sē ērigat, clāviculīs suīs quasi manibus, quicquid est nacta, complectitur; quam serpentem multiplicī lapsū et errāticō ferrō amputāns coercet ars agricolārum, nē silvēscat sarmentīs 53 et in omnīs partīs nimia fundātur. Itaque ineunte vēre 20 in eīs, quae relīcta sunt, exsistit tamquam ad articulōs sarmentōrum ea, quae gemma dīcitur, ā quā oriēns ūva sē ostendit, quae et sūcō terrae et calōre sōlis augēscēns prīmō est peracerba gustātū, deinde mātūrāta dulcēscit vestītaque pampinīs nec modicō tepōre caret et nimiōs sōlis dēfendit 25 ārdōrēs. Quā quid potest esse cum frūctū laetius, tum aspectū pulchrius? Cūius quidem non ūtilitās mē solum, ut ante dīxī, sed etiam cultūra' et nātūra ipsa dēlectat, adminiculorum ordines, capitum iugātio, religātio et propagātiō vītium, sarmentōrum ea, quam dīxī, aliōrum amputā- 30 tiō, aliōrum immīssiō. Quid ego irrigātiōnēs, quid fossiōnēs agrī repastinātionēsque proferam, quibus fit multo terra

54 fēcundior? Quid dē ūtilitāte loquar stercorandī? Dīxī in eō librō, quem dē rēbus rūsticīs scrīpsī; dē quā doctus Hēsiodus nē verbum quidem fēcit, cum dē cultūrā agrī scrīberet. At Homērus, quī multīs, ut mihi vidētur, ante saeculīs fuit, Lāertam lēnientem dēsīderium, quod capiēbat ō ē fīliō, colentem agrum et eum stercorantem facit. Nec vērō segetibus sōlum et prātīs et vīneīs et arbustīs rēs rūsticae laetae sunt, sed hortīs etiam et pōmāriīs, tum pecudum pāstū, apium exāminibus, flōrum omnium varietāte. Nec cōnsitiōnēs modo dēlectant, sed etiam īnsitiōnēs, quibus ¹ nihil invēnit agrī cultūra sollertius.

#### XVI.

Possum persequī permulta oblectāmenta rērum rūsticārum, sed haec ipsa, quae dīxī, sentiō fuisse longiōra. Īgnōscētis autem; nam et studiō rūsticārum rērum prōvēctus sum, et senectūs est nātūrā loquācior, nē ab omnibus eam 15 vitiīs videar vindicāre. Ergō in hāc vītā M'. Curius, cum dē Samnītibus, dē Sabīnīs, dē Pyrrhō triumphāsset, cōn-

**dē...agrī.** Hesiod's poem was entitled Έργα καὶ Ἡμέραι.

Lāertam. Laertes was king of Ithaca and father of Odysseus. He gave up his kingdom to his son and spent his time in the cultivation of his farm.

colentem . . . stercorantem. Cato refers to Od. XXIV. 226, in which Laertes is represented as simply digging in his garden.

**īnsitiōnēs.** Cf. Verg. *Geor.* II. 32–34 (Dryden's translation):—

'Tis usual now an inmate graff to see

With insolence invade a foreign tree:

Thus pears and quinces from the crab tree come:

And thus the ruddy cornel bears the plum;

also ibid. 73–82 for the various methods of grafting. Read Bacon's essay on *Gardens*, "God Almighty first planted a garden; and indeed it is the purest of human pleasures"; also Addison's *Spectator*, No. 477, "I look upon the pleasure which we take in a garden, as one of the most innocent delights in human life"; and Emer-

sūmpsit extrēmum tempus aetātis. Cūius quidem ego vīllam contēmplāns (abest enim non longē ā mē) admīrārī satis non possum vel hominis ipsīus continentiam vel tem-56 porum disciplīnam. Curiō ad focum sedentī māgnum aurī pondus Samnītēs cum attulissent, repudiātī sunt; non enim aurum habēre praeclārum sibi vidērī dīxit, sed eīs, quī habērent aurum, imperāre. Poteratne tantus animus efficere non iūcundam senectūtem? Sed venio ad agricolās, nē ā mē ipsō recēdam. In agrīs erant tum senātōrēs, id est senēs, siquidem arantī L. Quīnctiō Cincinnātō nūntiā- 10 tum est eum dictātōrem esse factum; cūius dictātōris iūssū

son's essay on Farming, in which he says, "And the profession (of the farmer) has in all eyes its ancient charm, as standing nearest to God, the First Cause."

Curiō. This story is thus related by Plutarch, Life of Cato, 2: -

"The little country house of Manius Curius, who had been thrice carried in triumph, happened to be near his farm; so that often going thither, and contemplating the small compass of the place and plainness of the dwelling. Cato formed an idea of the mind of the person, who being one of the greatest of the Romans, and having subdued the most warlike nations, and driven Pyrrhus out of Italy, now, after three triumphs, was contented to dig in so small a piece of ground, and live in such a cottage. Here it was that ambassadors of the Samnites, finding him boiling turnips in the chimney corner, offered him a present of gold; but he sent them away with this saying, that he who was content with such a supper, had

no need of gold; and that he thought it more honorable to conquer those who possessed the gold than to possess the gold itself. Cato, after reflecting upon these things, used to return, and reviewing his own farm, his servants, and housekeeping, increase his labor, and retrench all superfluous expenses."

L. Ouînctio Cincinnato. Cincinnatus belongs to the legendary period of Roman history. In 458 B.C., according to tradition, he was summoned from the plow to become dictator in the war against the Twenty years later he Aequians. was given similar authority to quell a revolt of the people. For the story of Cincinnatus, see Livy, III. 26; Liddell, Hist. of Rome, pp. 106-108, 134.

magister . . . Ahāla. The dictator, having been appointed by the consul at the instance of the senate, nominated his second in command, the master of the horse. Ahala held this office in the second dictatorship of Cincinnatus.

magister equitum C. Servīlius Ahāla Sp. Maelium rēgnum adpetentem occupātum interēmit. Ā vīllā in senātum arcessēbātur et Curius et cēterī senēs, ex quō, quī eōs arcessēbant, viātorēs nominātī sunt. Num igitur horum senectūs miserābilis fuit, quī sē agrī cultione oblectābant? 5 Meā quidem sententiā haud sciō an nūlla beātior possit esse, neque solum officio, quod hominum generi universo cultūra agrōrum est salūtāris, sed et dēlectātione, quam dīxī, et saturitāte copiāque rērum omnium, quae ad vīctum hominum, ad cultum etiam deorum pertinent, ut, quoniam 10 haec quīdam dēsīderant, in grātiam iam cum voluptāte redeāmus. Semper enim bonī assiduīgue dominī referta cella vīnāria, oleāria, etiam penāria est, vīllaque tōta locuplēs est, abundat porcō, haedō, āgnō, gallīnā, lacte, cāseō, melle. Iam hortum ipsī agricolae succīdiam alteram appel- 15 lant. Condītiōra facit haec supervacāneīs etiam operis 57 aucupium atque vēnātiō. Quid dē prātōrum viriditāte aut arborum ordinibus aut vīneārum olīvētorumve specie plūra dīcam? Brevī praecīdam: Agrō bene cultō nihil potest esse nec ūsū ūberius nec speciē ōrnātius; ad quem fruen- 20 dum non modo non retardat, vērum etiam invītat atque adlectat senectūs. Ubi enim potest illa aetās aut calēscere vel aprīcātione melius vel īgnī aut vicissim umbrīs aquīsve 58 refrīgerārī salūbrius? Sibi habeant igitur arma, sibi equōs, sibi hastās, sibi clāvam et pilam, sibi natātiones atque cur- 25 sūs, nobīs senibus ex lūsionibus multīs tālos relinguant et

Sp. Maelium. Sp. Maelius was a wealthy plebeian. His offense consisted in buying up corn in Etruria, in a season of great scarcity and drought (440 B.C.), and distributing it at a small price, or gratuitously, among the poor. This action exposed him to the

hatred of the ruling class. The charge of aiming at regal power was simply a pretext on the part of the patricians. They were angry at the plebeians for their aggressive course in wresting enlarged political privileges from the unwilling hands of the ruling class. tesserās, id ipsum ut lubēbit, quoniam sine eīs beāta esse senectūs potest.

#### XVII.

Multās ad rēs perūtilēs Xenophontis librī sunt; quōs legite, quaesō, studiōsē, ut facitis. Quam cōpiōsē ab eō agrī cultūra laudātur in eō librō, quī est dē tuendā rē fami- ilārī, quī Oeconomicus īnscrībitur! Atque ut intellegātis nihil eī tam rēgāle vidērī quam studium agrī colendī, Sōcratēs in eō librō loquitur cum Critobūlō Cȳrum minōrem, Persārum rēgem, praestantem ingeniō atque imperī glōriā, cum Lysander Lacedaemonius, vir summae virtūtis, vēnisset ad eum Sardīs eīque dōna ā sociīs adtulisset, et cēterīs in rēbus commūnem ergā Lysandrum atque hūmānum

**Xenophontis librī**. In addition to his historical works, Xenophon wrote three small treatises on Husbandry, Οικονομικόs; Horses, περὶ 'Ιππικῆs; and the Chase, Κυνηγετικόs.

ut facitis. Cf. Cic. Tusc. II. 26, 62, Itaque semper Africanus Socraticum Xenophontem in manibus habebat.

**Oeconomicus.** Written in the form of a dialogue with Socrates and Critobulus as the speakers. Cicero had translated this when a young man. The passage following is a free rendering of Ch. IV. 20–25.

**Critobūlō**. Critobulus became the pupil of Socrates, at the request of his father Crito, who was one of the great philosopher's most influential friends and devoted followers.

Cyrum minorem, Persarum regem. "Cyrus the younger, prince of the Persians" (he was not actually king). Cyrus, the second son of

Darius Nothus, is best known for his unsuccessful attempt to wrest the Persian Empire from his brother Artaxerxes. After his defeat and death at Cunaxa, 401 B.C., the Greeks, who had been the mainstay of his army, achieved the masterly retreat described by Xenophon in the Anabasis.

Lysander. Lysander became prominent in the latter part of the Peloponnesian war. While in command of Lacedaemonian troops on the coast of Asia Minor, in 407 B.C., he made the acquaintance of Cyrus, then a Persian satrap. In 405 B.C., Lysander defeated the Athenians at Aegospotamos, and by this decisive victory prepared the way for the final capture of Athens. Later he was influential in placing the thirty tyrants in power. His death occurred in a battle against the Thebans, 395 B.C.

fuisse et ei quendam consaeptum agrum diligenter consi-Cum autem admīrārētur Lysander et tum ostendisse. proceritates arborum et derectos in quincuncem ordines et humum subāctam atque pūram et suāvitātem odōrum, quī adflārentur ex flōribus, tum eum dīxisse mīrārī sē nōn modo 5 dīligentiam, sed etiam sollertiam ēius, ā quō essent illa dīmēnsa atque dīscrīpta; et Cyrum respondisse: 'Atquī ego ista sum omnia dīmēnsus; meī sunt ōrdinēs, mea dīscrīptiō, multae etiam istārum arborum meā manū sunt satae.' Tum Lysandrum intuentem purpuram ēius et nitō- 10 rem corporis ōrnātumque Persicum multō aurō multīsque gemmīs dīxisse: 'Rēctē vērō tē, Cyre, beātum ferunt, quo-60 niam virtūtī tuae fortūna coniūncta est.' Hāc igitur fortūnā fruī licet senibus, nec aetās impedit, quō minus et cēterārum rērum et in prīmīs agrī colendī studia teneāmus 15 usque ad ültimum tempus senectūtis. M. quidem Valerium Corvīnum accēpimus ad centēsimum annum perdūxisse, cum esset āctā iam aetāte in agrīs eōsque coleret; cūius inter prīmum et sextum consulatum sex et quadragintā annī interfuērunt. Ita, quantum spatium aetātis 20 māiores ad senectūtis initium esse voluērunt, tantus illī cursus honorum fuit; atque hūius extrēma aetās hoc beātior quam media, quod auctoritatis habebat plūs, laboris minus;

**Rēctē . . . est.** Cf. Xen. Oec. IV. 25, Δικαίως μοι δοκεῖς ἔ $\phi$ η,  $\mathring{\omega}$  Κῦρε, εὐδαίμων εἶναι, ἀγαθὸς γὰρ  $\mathring{\omega}$ ν ἀνὴρ εὐδαιμονεῖς.

M.... Valerium Corvinum.
M. Valerius Corvinus was consul six times, first in 348 B.C., and the last time in 299 B.C. Therefore the exact period intervening between his first and sixth consulship was forty-nine years, and not forty-six, as stated in

the text. Valerius owed his surname, Corvinus, to the fact that a raven (corvus) lighted upon his helmet when, in 349 B.C., he engaged in single combat with a huge Gaul. See Liddell, Hist. of Rome, p. 151.

sex et quadrāgintā. See above on *Corvinum*. The regular period of military service closed with the forty-sixth year, and the *aetas seniorum* commenced.

61 apex est autem senectūtis auctōritās. Quanta fuit in L. Caeciliō Metellō, quanta in A. Atīliō Cālātīnō! in quem illud elogium: 'Hunc ūnum plūrimae cōnsentiunt gentēs populī prīmārium fuisse virum.' Nōtum est carmen incīsum in sepulcrō. Iūre igitur gravis, cūius dē laudibus 5 omnium esset fāma cōnsentiēns. Quem virum nūper P. Crassum, pōntificem māximum, quem posteā M. Lepidum, eōdem sacerdōtiō praeditum, vīdimus! Quid dē Paulō aut Āfricānō loquar aut, ut iam ante, dē Māximō? quōrum nōn in sententiā sōlum, sed etiam in nūtū residēbat auctōritās. 10 Habet senectūs honōrāta praesertim tantam auctōritātem, ut ea plūris sit quam omnēs adulēscentiae voluptātēs.

## XVIII.

62 Sed in omnī ōrātiōne mementōte eam mē senectūtem laudāre, quae fundāmentīs adulēscentiae cōnstitūta sit. Ex quō efficitur id quod ego māgnō quondam cum assēnsū 15 omnium dīxī, miseram esse senectūtem quae sē ōrātiōne dēfenderet. Nōn cānī nec rūgae repente auctōritātem arri-

A. Atīliō Cālātīnō. Aulus Atilius Calatinus was a native of Calatia in Campania. Elected consul in 258 and 254 B.c. and appointed dictator in 249, he rendered good service in the First Punic War.

in sepulcrō. His tomb was near that of the Scipios, on the Appian Way, outside the Capena gate. Cf. Cic. Tusc. I. 7, 13, an tu egressus porta Capena, cum Calatini, Scipionum, Serviliorum, Metellorum sepulcra vides, miseros putas illos?

M. Lepidum. M. Aemilius Lepidus was consul 187 B.c. and 175, and Pontifex Maximus 180 B.c., and

princeps senatus six times in succession. He constructed the Aemilian Way, a continuation of the Flaminian. His death occurred about 150 B.C.

cānī. Sc. capilli. Cani with its noun omitted is poetic. With this passage, Non cani . . . possunt, cf. Seneca, Tranq. III. 7, Saepe grandis natu senex nullum aliud habet argumentum, quo se probet diu vixisse, praeter aetatem; also Sheridan, Pizarro, Act IV. sc. 1:—

"A life spent worthily should be measured by a nobler line, — by deeds, not years."

pere possunt, sed honestē ācta superior aetās frūctūs capit 63 auctoritatis extremos. Haec enim ipsa sunt honorabilia, quae videntur levia atque commūnia, salūtārī, adpetī. dēcēdī, adsurgī, dēdūcī, redūcī, consulī; quae et apud nos et in aliīs cīvitātibus, ut quaeque optimē morāta est, ita 5 dīligentissimē observantur. Lysandrum Lacedaemonium, cūius modo fēcī mentionem, dīcere āiunt solitum Lacedaemonem esse honestissimum domicilium senectūtis; nusquam enim tantum tribuitur aetātī, nusquam est senectūs honoratior. Quin etiam memoriae proditum est, cum Athe- 10 nīs lūdīs quīdam in theātrum grandis nātū vēnisset, māgnō consessu locum nusquam ei datum a suis civibus; cum autem ad Lacedaemonios accessisset, qui legati cum essent. certō in locō cōnsēderant, cōnsurrēxisse omnēs illī dīcuntur 64 et senem sessum recēpisse. Quibus cum ā cūnctō cōnsessū 15 plausus esset multiplex datus, dīxisse ex eīs quendam Athēniensis scīre, quae rēcta essent, sed facere nolle. Multa in nostrō collēgiō praeclāra, sed hōc, dē quō agimus, in prīmīs, quod, ut quisque aetāte antecēdit, ita sententiae prīncipātum tenet, neque solum honore antecē- 200 dentibus, sed eīs etiam, quī cum imperiō sunt, māiōrēs nātū augurēs anteponuntur. Quae sunt igitur voluptātēs corporis cum auctoritatis praemiis comparandae? Quibus qui splendidē ūsī sunt, eī mihi videntur fābulam aetātis perēgisse nec tamquam inexercitātī histrionēs in extremo āctū 25 corruisse.

Lacedaemonem. The city was called Sparta or Lacedaemon. According to fable, Lacedaemon, son of Jupiter, married Sparta, the daughter of Eurotas. The Laconian city in which they lived and reigned received the name of each.

cum auctōritātis praemiīs. Cf. Shakespeare, Macbeth, Act V. sc. 3: —

And that which should accompany old age,

As honor, love, obedience, troops of friends.

65 At sunt morosi et anxii et iracundi et difficiles senes. Sī quaerimus, etiam avārī; sed haec morum vitia sunt, non senectūtis. Āc mōrōsitās tamen et ea vitia, quae dīxī, habent aliquid excūsātionis non illīus quidem iūstae, sed quae probārī posse videātur; contemnī sē putant, dēspicī, 5 inlūdī; praetereā in fragilī corpore odiōsa omnis offēnsiō est. Quae tamen omnia dulciora fiunt et moribus bonis et artibus, idque cum in vītā, tum in scaenā intellegī potest ex eīs frātribus, quī in Adelphīs sunt. Quanta in alterō dīritās, in altero comitās! Sīc sē rēs habet: ut enim non 10 omne vīnum, sīc non omnis nātūra vetustāte coacēscit. Sevēritātem in senectūte probō, sed eam, sīcut alia, modi-66 cam, acerbitātem nūllō modō. Avāritia vērō senīlis quid sibi velit, non intellego; potest enim quicquam esse absurdius quam, quō viae minus restet, eō plūs viāticī 15 quaerere?

## XIX.

Quarta restat causa, quae maxime angere atque sollicitam habēre nostram aetātem vidētur, adpropīnguātiō mortis, quae certē ā senectūte non potest esse longē. O miserum senem, qui mortem contemnendam esse in tam longa aetate 20 non viderit! quae aut plane neglegenda est, si omnino

Adelphis. Adelphi. The Broth- | to Micio; cf. Adelph. l. 863, Ille suam ers, one of the comedies of Terence (195-159 B.C.), the successor of Plautus, and a member of the Scipionic circle. His six comedies are still extant.

dīritās. "Harshness"; referring to Demea; cf. Adelph. 1. 866, Ego ille agrestis, saevos, tristis, parcus, truculentus, tenax.

comitas. "Kindness"; referring

semper egit vitam in otio, in conviviis: clemens, placidus.

Avāritia, etc. With this passage cf. Ter. Adelph. ll. 831-4:-

O noster Demea,

ad omnia alia aetate sapimus rectius; solum unum hoc vitium adfert senectus hominibus:

adtentiores sumus ad rem omnes, quam sat est.

exstinguit animum, aut etiam optanda, sī aliquō eum dēdūcit, ubi sit futūrus aeternus; atquī tertium certē nihil 67 invenīrī potest. Quid igitur timeam, sī aut non miser post mortem aut beātus etiam futūrus sum? Quamquam quis est tam stultus, quamvīs sit adulēscēns, cui sit explorātum sē ad vesperum esse vīctūrum? Quīn etiam aetās illa multo plūrīs quam nostra cāsūs mortis habet; facilius in morbos incidunt adulescentes, gravius aegrotant, trīstius cūrantur. Itaque paucī veniunt ad senectūtem; quod nī ita accideret, melius et prūdentius vīverētur. Mēns enim 10 et ratio et consilium in senibus est; qui si nulli fuissent, nūllae omnīno cīvitātēs fuissent. Sed redeo ad mortem impendentem. Quod est istud crīmen senectūtis, cum id 68 eī videātis cum adulēscentiā esse commūne? Sēnsī ego in optimō fīliō, tū in exspectātīs ad amplissimam dīgnitātem 15 frātribus, Scīpiō, mortem omnī aetātī esse commūnem. At spērat adulēscēns diū sē vīctūrum, quod spērāre idem senex non potest. Insipienter spērat. Quid enim stultius quam incerta pro certīs habēre, falsa pro vērīs? At senex nē quod spēret quidem habet. At est eō meliōre condicione 20 quam adulēscēns, quoniam id, quod ille spērat, hīc conse-69 cūtus est; ille vult diū vīvere, hīc diū vīxit. Quamquam,

sī... exstinguit animum. The doctrine of the annihilation of the soul. According to Sallust, Cat. 51, 20, Caesar declared his belief in this doctrine: De poena possum equidem dicere, id quod res habet, in luctu atque miseriis mortem aerumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse, eam cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere, ultra neque curae neque gaudio locum esse. Lucretius, who accepted the philosophy of Epicurus, set forth

the same belief in De Natura Rerum, III. 417, ff.

frātribus. The two sons of Aemilius Paulus, aged twelve and fourteen, who died, the younger five days before and the older three days after Paulus' triumph over King Perseus of Macedonia. Their death left him without heirs, as his older sons had been adopted into other families, one into the Fabian *gens*, the other (Scipio) into the Cornelian.

Ō dī bonī! quid est in hominis nātūrā diū? Dā enim summum tempus, exspectēmus Tartēssiōrum rēgis aetātem (fuit enim, ut scrīptum videō, Arganthōnius quīdam Gādibus, quī octogintā rēgnāvit annos, centum vīgintī vīxit) sed mihi në diuturnum quidem quicquam videtur in quo est 5 aliquid extrēmum. Cum enim id advenit, tum illud, quod praeteriit, efflūxit; tantum remanet, quod virtūte et rēctē factīs consecutus sīs; horae quidem cedunt et dies et mēnsēs et annī, nec praeteritum tempus umquam revertitur, nec, quid sequātur, scīrī potest; quod cuique temporis 10 70 ad vīvendum datur, eō dēbet esse contentus. Neque enim histrioni, ut placeat, peragenda fābula est, modo, in quocumque fuerit āctū, probētur, neque sapientibus usque ad 'Plaudite' veniendum est. Breve enim tempus aetātis satis longum est ad bene honestēque vīvendum; sīn proces- 15 serit longius, non magis dolendum est, quam agricolae dolent praeteritā vernī temporis suāvitāte aestātem autumnumque vēnisse. Vēr enim tamquam adulēscentiam sīg-

Tartēssiōrum ... Gādibus. The country about the mouth of the river Baetis, in southern Spain, of which Gades (Cadiz) was the principal city, was called Tartessus.

ut scrīptum videō. Herodotus I. 163, ἐτυράννευσε δὲ Ταρτησσοῦ ὀγδώκοντα ἔτεα, ἐβίωσε δὲ πάντα εἴκοσι καὶ ἐκατόν. Arganthonius belongs to the sixth century B.C.

quod . . . esse contentus. Cf. Hor. Sat. I. 1, 117–119:—

Inde fit, ut raro, qui se vixisse beatum Dicat, et, exacto contentus tempore, vita

Cedat uti conviva satur, reperire queamus.

Plaudite. Plays usually closed with this word. Cf. Plautus, *Trin.*; also Hor, A. P. 155:—

Sessuri donec cantor 'vos plaudite' dicat.

It is the closing word in every one of Terence's six comedies. For the comparison of life to a play, see p. 50.

Breve enim . . . vīvendum. L. Huxley compares Ben Jonson's lines:—

In small proportions we just beauties see,

And in short measures life may perfect be.

nificat ostenditque frūctūs futūrōs, reliqua autem tempora dēmetendīs frūctibus et percipiendīs accommodāta sunt.

71 Frūctus autem senectūtis est, ut saepe dīxī, ante partōrum bonōrum memoria et cōpia. Omnia autem, quae secundum nātūram fīunt, sunt habenda in bonīs. Quid est autem tam secundum nātūram quam senibus ēmorī? Quod idem contingit adulēscentibus adversante et repūgnante nātūrā. Itaque adulescentes mihi morī sīc videntur, ut cum aquae multitūdine flammae vīs opprimitur, senēs autem sīc, ut cum suā sponte nūllā adhibitā vī consūmptus īgnis exstin- 10 guitur; et quasi poma ex arboribus, crūda sī sunt, vix ēvelluntur, sī mātūra et cocta, dēcidunt, sīc vītam adulēscentibus vīs aufert, senibus mātūritās; quae quidem mihi tam iūcunda est, ut, quō propius ad mortem accēdam, quasi terram vidēre videar aliquandoque in portum ex longā 15 nāvigātione esse ventūrus.

## XX.

Senectūtis autem nūllus est certus terminus, rēctēque in 72 eā vīvitur, quoad mūnus officī exsequī et tuērī possit [mortemque contemnere]; ex quō fit, ut animōsior etiam senectūs sit quam adulēscentia et fortior. Hōc illud est, quod 20

"Thou shalt come to thy grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in his season"; also Wordsworth's lines : -

But an old age serene and bright, And lovely as a Lapland night, Shall lead thee to thy grave.

aliquando. "At length"; i.e. the desired haven has been reached. In II. 6, life is likened to a long journey by land. In Tusc. I. 49, 119, Cicero

senibus mātūritās. Cf. Job v. 26, | calls death "a harbor of refuge," portum potius paratum nobis et perfugium putemus. Cf. Longfellow's sonnet on Old Age: -

> The course of my long life hath reached at last.

> In fragile bark o'er a tempestuous

The common harbor, where must rendered be

Account of all the actions of the past.

Pīsistratō tyrannō ā Solōne respōnsum est, cum illī quaerentī, quā tandem rē frētus sibi tam audāciter obsisteret, respondisse dīcitur: 'Senectūte.' Sed vīvendī est fīnis optimus, cum integrā mente certīsque sēnsibus opus ipsa suum eadem, quae coāgmentāvit, nātūra dissolvit. Ut nāvem, ut aedificium īdem dēstruit facillimē, quī cōnstrūxit, sīc hominem eadem optimē, quae conglūtināvit, nātūra dissolvit. Iam omnis conglūtinātiō recēns aegrē, inveterāta facile dīvellitur. Ita fit, ut illud breve vītae reliquum nec avidē adpetendum senibus nec sine causā dēserendum sit; 10 73 vetatque Pythagorās iniūssū imperātōris, id est deī, dē

Pīsistratō ... respōnsum est. According to Plutarch, Solon, 31, this reply was made to others and not to Pisistratus directly. Pisistratus became despot of Athens 560 B.C., and held his position, except during a few years, until 527 B.C., when his two sons succeeded him in the government. His rule is said to have been, in the main, wise and conducive to the prosperity of Athens. Pisistratus founded a public library and also caused the works of Homer to be collected and edited.

sine causā. Implying that suicide might be justified under certain circumstances, —a doctrine held by the Stoics. Compare with this the teaching of Pythagoras given in the passage following.

vetatque . . . dēcēdere. Cf. Cic. Som. Scip. III. 7, Qua re et tibi, Publi, et piis omnibus retinendus animus est in custodia corporis, nec iniussu eius a quo ille est vobis datus ex hominum vita migrandum est, ne munus humanum adsignatum a deo defugisse vide-

amini; also Tusc. I. 30, 74. Plato in the Phaedo, 61, 62, represents Socrates as saying, "Then he, or any man who has the spirit of philosophy, will be willing to die, though he will not take his own life, for that is held not to be right." "There is a doctrine uttered in secret that man is a prisoner who has no right to open the door of his prison and run away; this is a great mystery, which I do not quite understand. Yet I, too, believe that the gods are our guardians, and that we are a possession of theirs." "Then there may be reason in saying that a man should wait, and not take his own life until God summons him, as he is now summoning me." Cf. Tennyson's Jowett's Trans. Lucretius: -

Whether I mean this day to end myself,

Or lend an ear to Plato where he says, That men like soldiers may not quit the post

Allotted by the Gods.

5

praesidiō et statione vītae dēcēdere. Solonis quidem sapientis est elogium, quo se negat velle suam mortem dolore amīcorum et lāmentīs vacāre. Volt, crēdo, se esse cārum suīs; sed haud scio an melius Ennius:

Nēmō mē lacrumīs decoret neque fūnera flētū Faxit.

Non censet lügendam esse mortem, quam immortālitās
74 consequātur. Iam sēnsus moriendī aliquis esse potest, isque
ad exiguum tempus, praesertim senī; post mortem quidem
sēnsus aut optandus aut nūllus est. Sed hoc meditātum ab 10
adulēscentiā dēbet esse, mortem ut neglegāmus, sine quā
meditātione tranquillo animo esse nēmo potest. Moriendum enim certē est, et incertum an hoc ipso diē. Mortem
igitur omnibus horīs impendentem timēns quī poterit animo
75 consistere? Dē quā non ita longā disputātione opus esse 15

vidētur, cum recorder non L. Brūtum, quī in līberandā patriā est interfectus, non duos Decios, quī ad voluntāriam

elogium. This saying has been preserved by Plutarch in his comparison of Solon and Publicola. Cicero has thus translated it in *Tusc.* I. 49, 117:—

Mors mea ne careat lacrimis; linquamus amicis

Maerorem, ut celebrent funera cum gemitu.

Nēmō...Faxit. Cf. Tusc. I. 34, for the full form:—

Nemo me lacrimis decoret nec funera fletu

Faxit. Cur? Volito vivus per ora virum.

Cf. with this Wordsworth's translation of Francesco Ceni's epitaph:—

Weep not, beloved Friends! nor let the air

For me with sighs be troubled. Not from life

Have I been taken; this is genuine life

And this alone, — the life which now I live

In peace eternal; where desire and joy Together move in fellowship without end.

L. Brūtum. L. Junius Brutus, the leader of the people in the expulsion of Tarquinius Superbus, and one of the first two consuls, 509 B.C. Tradition says he was slain in single combat by Aruns, the son of Tarquin.

mortem cursum equōrum incitāvērunt, nōn M. Atīlium, quī ad supplicium est profectus, ut fidem hostī datam cōnservāret, nōn duōs Scīpiōnēs, quī iter Poenīs vel corporibus suīs obstruere voluērunt, nōn avum tuum L. Paulum, quī morte luit conlēgae in Cannēnsī īgnōminiā temeritātem, nōn M. 5 Mārcellum, cūius interitum nē crūdēlissimus quidem hostis honōre sepultūrae carēre passus est, sed legiōnēs nostrās, quod scrīpsī in Orīginibus, in eum locum saepe profectās alacrī animō et ērēctō, unde sē reditūrās numquam arbitrārentur. Quod igitur adulēscentēs, et eī quidem nōn sōlum 10 indoctī, sed etiam rūsticī, contemnunt, id doctī senēs exti-

M. Atīlium. M. Atīlius Regulus, consul, 267 and 256 B.C. Cicero here refers to the story of Regulus' capture by the Carthaginians in Africa, in the First Punic War, his mission to Rome to effect an exchange of prisoners, his advice to the senate against this measure, and his voluntary return to Carthage in accordance with the pledge he had given, if his errand proved fruitless. Cf. De Off. I. 13, 39; Hor. Odes III. 5, 41–56.

conlēgae. M. Terentius Varro, whose rashness brought on the battle of Cannae, 216 B.C., in which Paulus was killed, and the Romans suffered a terrible defeat. Cf. Liv. XXII. 45-50.

M. Mārcellum. M. Claudius Marcellus was consul five times. In his first term of office, 222 B.C., he slew the Insubrian chief, Viridomarus, and obtained the *spolia opima*. In the Second Punic War he was known as the sword of Rome, as Fabius was called the shield, and succeeded in capturing Syracuse, 212 B.C., after a

famous siege, in which the defenders of the city were greatly aided by the inventive genius of Archimedes. Marcellus was surprised by an ambuscade near Venusia, 208 B.C., and killed, in the sixtieth year of his age.

crūdēlissimus...hostis. There is no reason for believing this epithet deserved by Hannibal. In fact, the instance here given would indicate that he was just the opposite in his treatment of the dead Marcellus. Hannibal's remarkable victories over the Romans rendered them incapable of taking an impartial view of his character.

sed legiones nostras... arbitrarentur. Cf. Tusc. I. 42, 101, where almost the same words are used; also Tennyson's lines:—

Was there a man dismayed? Not though the soldier knew Some one had blundered: Theirs not to make reply, Theirs not to reason why, Theirs but to do and die. 76 mēscent? Omnīnō, ut mihi quidem vidētur, studiōrum omnium satietās vītae facit satietātem. Sunt pueritiae studia certa; num igitur ea dēsīderant adulēscentēs? Sunt ineuntis adulēscentiae; num ea cōnstāns iam requīrit aetās, quae media dīcitur? Sunt etiam ēius aetātis; nē ea quidem quaeruntur in senectūte. Sunt extrēma quaedam studia senectūtis; ergō, ut superiōrum aetātum studia occidunt, sīc occidunt etiam senectūtis; quod cum ēvēnit, satietās vītae tempus mātūrum mortis adfert.

#### XXI.

77 Non enim video, cūr, quid ipse sentiam dē morte, non 10 audeam vobīs dīcere, quod eo cernere mihi melius videor, quo ab eā propius absum. Ego vestros patrēs, P. Scīpio, tūque, C. Laelī, viros clārissimos mihique amīcissimos, vīvere arbitror, et eam quidem vītam, quae est sola vīta nominanda. Nam, dum sumus inclūsī in hīs compāgibus 15 corporis, mūnere quodam necessitātis et gravī opere per-

Omnīnō . . . adfert. With this whole section compare the opening and closing lines of Browning's Rabbi Ben Ezra:—

Grow old along with me!
The best is yet to be,
The last of life, for which the first
was made:

Our times are in His hand
Who saith, "A whole I planned,
Youth shows but half; trust God:
see all, nor be afraid!"

\* \* \* \* \* \* \*

My times be in Thy hand!

Perfect the cup as planned!

Let age approve of youth, and death complete the same.

constans...aetas. Cf. X. 33. For the periods into which the life of man was divided, see on *senectutis*, p. 47.

vestrōs patrēs. Aemilius Paulus (cf. VI. 15) and C. Laelius, consul, 190 B.C., the friend and companion of the elder Africanus, under whom he served in the Second Punic War, commanding the cavalry at the battle of Zama.

inclūsī... corporis. Cf. Scip. Som. III. 6, ei vivunt, qui e corporum vinculis tamquam e carcere evolaverunt, vestra vero quae dicitur vita mors est; also De Am. IV. 14, ut optimi cuiusque animus in morte facillime evolet tamquam e custodia

fungimur; est enim animus caelestis ex altissimō domiciliō dēpressus et quasi dēmersus in terram, locum dīvīnae nātūrae aeternitātīque contrārium. Sed crēdō deōs immortālīs sparsisse animōs in corpora hūmāna, ut essent, quī terrās tuērentur, quīque caelestium ōrdinem contēmplantēs imitārentur eum vītae modō atque cōnstantiā. Nec mē sōlum ratiō āc disputātiō impulit, ut ita crēderem, sed nōbilitās 78 etiam summōrum philosophōrum et auctōritās. Audiēbam Pythagoram Pythagorēōsque, incolās paene nostrōs, quī essent Ītalicī philosophī quondam nōminātī, numquam 10 dubitāsse, quīn ex ūniversā mente dīvīnā dēlībātōs animōs habērēmus. Dēmōnstrābantur mihi praetereā, quae Sōcra-

vinculisque corporis. With this and the preceding passage, compare the lines of Browning:—

Dying we live,
Fretless and free,
Soul, cap thy pinion!
Earth have dominion,
Body, o'er thee!

\* \* \* \* \*
Body may slumber;
Body shall cumber
Soul-flight no more.

quī terrās tuērentur. Cf. Scip. Som. III. 7, Homines enim sunt hac lege generati, qui tuerentur illum globum . . . quae terra dicitur.

contēmplantēs imitārentur. Cf. N. D. II. 14, 37, Ipse autem homo ortus est ad mundum contemplandum et imitandum; also Tusc. I. 28, 69, hominem ipsum quasi contemplatorem caeli ac deorum ipsorumque cultorem; and Plato's Timaeus, 47 (Jowett's translation):—

"God invented and gave us sight

to this end, — that we might behold the courses of intelligence in the heaven, and apply them to the courses of our own intelligence which are akin to them, the unperturbed to the perturbed; and that we, learning them and being partakers of the true computations of nature, might imitate the absolutely unerring courses of God and regulate our own vagaries."

incolās paene nostrōs. Pythagoras lived and taught his philosophy at Grotona, in southern Italy. For this reason his school was called the Italic, and was thus distinguished from the schools afterward founded in Greece.

dēlībātōs. The soul of each man was a portion of the great world-soul. Cf. Tusc. V. 13, 38. Humanus autem animus, decerptus ex mente divina, cum alio nullo, nisi cum ipso deo, si hoc fas est dictu, comparari potest; N. D. I. 11, 27; Verg. Aen. VI. 724-729.

tēs suprēmo vītae diē dē immortālitāte animorum disseruisset, is qui esset omnium sapientissimus ōrāculō Apollinis iūdicātus. Quid multa? Sīc persuāsī mihi, sīc sentio, cum tanta celeritās animōrum sit, tanta memoria praeteritōrum futūrōrumque prūdentia, tot artēs, tantae scientiae, 5 tot inventa, non posse eam natūram, quae res eas contineat, esse mortālem, cumque semper agitētur animus nec prīncipium mõtūs habeat, quia sē ipse moveat, nē fīnem quidem habitūrum esse motūs, quia numquam sē ipse sit relīctūrus, et, cum simplex animī esset nātūra neque habēret in sē 10 quicquam admīxtum dispār suī atque dissimile, non posse eum dīvidī; quod sī non posset, non posse interīre; māgnoque esse argumento homines scire pleraque ante quam nati sint, quod iam puerī, cum artīs difficilīs discant, ita celeriter rēs innumerābilīs arripiant, ut eās non tum prīmum accipere 15 videantur, sed reminīscī et recordārī. Haec Platonis ferē.

disseruisset. In Plato's Phaedo.
is quī . . . sapientissimus . . .
iūdicātus. Cf. Plato's Apology, 5.
tanta celeritās animōrum. Cf.
Tusc. I. 19, 43, nulla est celeritas,
quae possit cum animi celeritate contendere.

Haec Platōnis ferē. The four arguments are based upon the capacity, the self-activity, the simplicity, and the preëxistence of the soul. They are taken in part from the Phaedrus, and in part from the Phaedo. In one passage in the latter (§ 80), Socrates says: "Is not the conclusion of the whole matter this,—that the soul is in the very likeness of the divine, and immortal, and intelligible, and uniform, and indissoluble, and unchangeable; and

the body is in the very likeness of the human and mortal, and unintelligible, and multiform, and dissoluble, and changeable?" Cf. Emerson's Old Age, closing paragraph: "I have heard, that, whenever the name of man is spoken, the doctrine of immortality is announced; it cleaves to his constitution. The mode of it baffles our wit, and no whisper comes to us from the other side. But the inference from the working of intellect, hiving knowledge, hiving skill, - at the end of life just ready to be born, affirms the inspirations of affection and of the moral sentiment." On the preëxistence of the soul, cf. Wordsworth's famous lines in his ode, Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood: -

### XXII.

79 Apud Xenophontem autem moriēns Cyrus māior haec dīcit: 'Nolīte arbitrārī, O mihi cārissimī fīliī, mē, cum ā vobīs discessero, nusquam aut nūllum fore. Nec enim, dum eram vobīscum, animum meum vidēbātis, sed eum esse in hōc corpore ex eīs rēbus, quās gerēbam, intellegēbātis. Eundem igitur esse crēditote, etiamsī nūllum vidē

80 bitis. Nec vērō clārōrum virōrum post mortem honōrēs permanērent, sī nihil eōrum ipsōrum animī efficerent, quō diūtius memoriam suī tenērēmus. Mihi quidem numquam persuādērī potuit animōs, dum in corporibus essent mortālibus, vīvere, cum excessissent ex eīs, ēmorī, nec vērō tum animum esse īnsipientem, cum ex īnsipientī corpore ēvāsisset, sed cum omnī admīxtiōne corporis līberātus pūrus et

Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting:

The soul that rises with us, our life's Star,

Hath had elsewhere its setting,
And cometh from afar:
Not in entire forgetfulness,
And not in utter nakedness,

But trailing clouds of glory do we come

From God, who is our home: Heaven lies about us in our infancy! Shades of the prison-house begin to close

Upon the growing boy.

Apud Xenophontem. In the *Cyropaedia*, VIII. 7, 17, of which Cicero has given a free rendering, omitting a few lines.

Nec vērō . . . tenērēmus. With this cf. Tusc. I. 15, 35, verisimile est, cum optimus quisque maxime posteri-

tati serviat, esse aliquid, cuius is post mortem sensum sit habiturus. With this and the following passage cf. Lowell's lines from his Elegy on the Death of Dr. Channing:—

Therefore I cannot think thee wholly gone:

The better part of thee is with us still:

Thy soul its hampering clay aside hath thrown,

And only freer wrestles with the Ill.

And often, from that other world,

Some gleams from great souls gone before may shine,

To shed on struggling hearts a clearer bliss,

And clothe the Right with luster more divine.

integer esse coepisset, tum esse sapientem. Atque etiam

cum hominis nātūra morte dissolvitur, cēterārum rērum perspicuum est quō quaeque discēdat; abeunt enim illūc omnia, unde orta sunt, animus autem sōlus, nec cum adest nec cum discēdit, appāret. Iam vērō vidētis nihil esse 5 81 mortī tam simile quam somnum. Atquī dormientium animī māximē dēclārant dīvīnitātem suam; multa enim, cum remīssī et līberī sunt, futūra prōspiciunt. Ex quō intellegitur, quālēs futūrī sint, cum sē plānē corporis vinculīs relaxāverint. Quārē, sī haec ita sunt, sīc mē colitōte,' 10 inquit, 'ut deum; sīn ūnā est interitūrus animus cum corpore, vōs tamen deōs verentēs, quī hanc omnem pulchritūdinem tuentur et regunt, memoriam nostrī piē inviolātēque servābitis.'

abeunt . . . orta sunt. Cf. Eccles. xii. 7, "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was; and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it."

nihil esse mortī...somnum. Cf. Ov. Amor. II. 9, 41,

Stulte, quid est somnus, gelidae nisi mortis imago?

Hom. Il. XIV. 231,

Death's brother, Sleep;

Sir Wm. Jones, from the Persian: -

So live, that sinking in thy last long sleep.

Calm thou mayst smile, while all around thee weep;

Scott's Lady of the Lake, Cant. I.: —

Sleep the sleep that knows not breaking.

Morn of toil, nor night of waking;

Bryant's *Thanatopsis*, last stanza:—So live, that when thy summons comes to join

The innumerable caravan that moves To the pale realms of shade, where each shall take

His chamber in the silent halls of death,

Thou go not, like the quarry-slave at night,

Scourged to his dungeon, but sustained and soothed

By an unfaltering trust, approach thy grave

Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch

About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams.

servābitis. Read Bacon's essay on *Death*, and Addison's *Spectator*, No. 133, in which the dying Epaminondas says: "This is not the end of my life, my fellow-soldiers; it is

#### XXIII.

Cyrus quidem haec moriens; nos, sī placet, nostra videā-82 mus. Nēmō umquam mihi, Scīpiō, persuādēbit aut patrem tuum Paulum aut duōs avōs, Paulum et Āfricānum, aut Āfricānī patrem aut patruum aut multos praestantīs viros, quōs ēnumerāre non est necesse, tanta esse conātos, quae 5 ad posteritātis memoriam pertinērent, nisi animō cernerent posteritātem ad sē ipsos pertinēre. An cēnsēs, ut dē mē ipse aliquid mõre senum glörier, mē tantõs laborēs diurnõs nocturnosque domi militiaeque suscepturum fuisse, si eisdem fīnibus glōriam meam, quibus vītam, essem terminātūrus? 10 Nonne melius multo fuisset otiosam aetatem et quietam sine ūllo et labore et contentione traducere? Sed nescio quo modo animus ērigēns sē posteritātem ita semper prospiciēbat, quasi, cum excessisset ē vītā, tum dēnique vīctūrus esset. Quod quidem nī ita sē habēret, ut animī immortālēs essent, 15 haud optimī cūiusque animus māximē ad immortālitātem 83 et glōriam nīterētur. Quid? quod sapientissimus quisque aequissimō animō moritur, stultissimus inīquissimō, nōnne vobīs vidētur is animus, quī plūs cernat et longius, vidēre sē ad meliora proficīscī, ille autem, cūius obtūsior sit acies, 20 non videre? Equidem efferor studio patres vestros, quos coluī et dīlēxī, videndī, neque vērō eōs sōlōs convenīre aveō,

now your Epaminondas is born, who dies in so much glory."

**nostra**, *i.e.* examples of this belief among Romans.

tantōs labōrēs. Cf. Pro Arch. XI., Certe, si nihil animus praesentiret in posterum, et si, quibus regionibus vitae spatium circumscriptum est, eisden omnes cogitationes termi-

naret suas, nec tantis se laboribus frangeret neque tot curis vigiliisque angeretur nec toties de ipsa vita dimicaret.

ad meliora. With this passage cf. Browning's poem, *Prospice:*—

For sudden the worst turns the best to the brave.

quōs ipse cōgnōvī, sed illōs etiam, dē quibus audīvī et lēgī et ipse cōnscrīpsī. Quō quidem mē proficīscentem haud sānē quis facile retrāxerit nec tamquam Peliam recōxerit. Et sī quis deus mihi largiātur, ut ex hāc aetāte repuerāscam et in cūnīs vāgiam, valdē recūsem nec vērō velim 584 quasi dēcursō spatiō ad carcerēs ā calce revocārī. Quid habet enim vīta commodī? Quid nōn potius labōris? Sed habeat sānē, habet certē tamen aut satietātem aut modum. Nōn lubet enim mihi deplōrāre vītam, quod multī, et eī doctī, saepe fēcērunt, neque mē vīxisse paenitet, quoniam 10 ita vīxī, ut nōn frūstrā mē nātum exīstimem, et ex vītā ita

sed illōs etiam. Cf. with this passage Plato, Apol. XXXII. 41: "But if death is the journey to another place, and there, as men say, all the dead are, what good, O my friend and judges, can be greater than this? . . . What would not a man give if he might converse with Orpheus and Musaeus and Hesiod and Homer? Nay, if this be true, let me die again and again."

Peliam. Medea, the famous sorceress, restored Aeson, the father of Jason, to youth, by cutting him up and boiling him. The daughters of Pelias, king of Iolcos and half-brother of Aeson, tried the same experiment with their father, at the suggestion of Medea, but failed. Cicero confuses the two stories.

carcerēs. A row of small, vaulted chambers, twelve or less in number, each large enough to hold a chariot and its horses. At the signal for the race, slaves threw open the folding doors in front of the carceres.

calce. "The finish line." A chalk line was drawn across the arena

opposite the judge's box to mark the end of the course. On this and carceres, above, see Smith's Dict. Antiq. vol. I. s.v. circus. Cf. De Am. XXV. 101, quibuscum tanquam e carceribus emissus sis, cum eisdem ad calcem, ut dicitur, pervenire. With this whole passage compare Byron's lines from A Fragment:—

Could I remount the river of my years

To the first fountain of our smiles and tears,

I would not trace again the stream of hours

Between their outworn banks of wither'd flowers,

But bid it flow as now — until it glides Into the number of the nameless tides.

**Quid non potius laboris.** Compare this with *Ps.* xc. 10, "yet is their strength labor and sorrow."

eī doctī. In Tusc. I. 34, 84, Cicero mentions Hegesias, who wrote 'Αποκαρτερῶν, i.e. one who refrains from eating that he may die and be free from the troubles of life.

discēdō tamquam ex hospitiō, nōn tamquam ē domō. Commorandī enim nātūra dēvorsōrium nōbīs, nōn habitandī dedit. O praeclārum diem, cum in illud dīvīnum animorum concilium coetumque proficiscar cumque ex hāc turbā et conluvione discedam! Proficiscar enim non ad eos 5 sõlum virõs, dē quibus ante dīxī, vērum etiam ad Catōnem meum, quō nēmō vir melior nātus est, nēmō pietāte praestantior; cūius ā mē corpus est cremātum, quod contrā decuit, ab illo meum, animus vēro non mē dēserēns, sed respectāns in ea profectō loca discessit, quō mihi ipsī 10 cernēbat esse veniendum. Quem ego meum cāsum fortiter ferre vīsus sum, non quo aequo animo ferrem, sed mē ipse consolabar existimans non longinguum inter nos digressum 85 et discessum fore. Hīs mihi rēbus, Scīpiō (id enim tē cum Laeliō admīrārī solēre dīxistī), levis est senectūs, nec solum 15 non molesta, sed etiam iūcunda. Quod sī in hoc erro, quī animōs hominum immortālīs esse crēdam, libenter errō nec mihi hunc errorem, quo delector, dum vivo, extorqueri volo;

sīn mortuus, ut quīdam minūtī philosophī cēnsent, nihil

non habitands. Sc. locum. Cf. Heb. xiii. 14, "For here have we no continuing city, but we seek one to come."

cum in illud . . . discēdam.
Cf. Byron's lines:—

But wherefore weep? Her matchless spirit soars

Beyond where splendid shines the orb of day;

And weeping angels lead her to those bowers

Where endless pleasures virtue's deeds repay.

Proficiscar . . . ad Catōnem meum. Cf. Whittier's Snow-Bound :—

Alas for him who never sees The stars shine through his cypresstrees!

Who, hopeless, lays his dead away, Nor looks to see the breaking day Across the mournful marbles play! Who hath not learned, in hours of faith.

The truth to flesh and sense unknown,

That Life is ever lord of Death,

And Love can never lose its own!

libenter errō. For a similar sentiment, cf. Tusc. I. 17, 39. Errare mehercule malo cum Platone . . . quam cum istis vera sentire.

10

sentiam, non vereor, ne hunc errorem meum philosophī mortuī irrīdeant. Quod sī non sumus immortālēs futūrī, tamen exstinguī hominī suo tempore optābile est. Nam habet nātūra, ut aliārum omnium rērum, sīc vīvendī modum. Senectūs autem aetātis est perāctio tamquam fābulae, 5 cūius dēfatīgātionem fugere dēbēmus, praesertim adiūnctā satietāte.

Haec habuī, dē senectūte quae dīcerem; ad quam utinam perveniātis! ut ea, quae ex mē audīstis, rē expertī probāre possītis.

Quod sī non sumus . . . est. Contrast the uncertainty of philosophy with the certainty of revelation, 2 *Tim.* i. 10, "But is now made manifest by the appearing of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who hath abolished death and hath brought life and immortality to light through the gospel."

Nam habet . . . satietāte. Addison has taken this passage for the text of No. 153 of the *Spectator*. The old age of a frivolous life he describes in No. 260, taking for the heading Horace, *Ep.* II. 2, 55:—

Singula de nobis anni praedantur euntes.

On the possibility of usefulness, even in the last act (peractio) of the drama of life, cf. the closing lines of Longfellow's Morituri Salutamus:—

For age is opportunity no less Than youth itself, though in another dress,

And as the evening twilight fades away

The sky is filled with stars, invisible by day.

**Haec habuī...dīcerem.** Cf. the closing paragraph of the *De Am.*, in which the same form of expression is employed.



## SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

CONTAINING GRAMMATICAL REFERENCES, SUGGESTIONS UPON THE TRANSLATION OF DIFFICULT PASSAGES, AND TEXTUAL NOTES.

In the grammatical references those to Harkness are in full-faced type (100); those to Allen & Greenough in ordinary type (100); those to Gildersleeve (revised edition), in italies (100).

#### I. 1. quid: adverbial accusative.

adiuerō: the full form would be  $adi\tilde{u}ver\bar{o}$ . The v has fallen out and u become short.

levāssō: for levavero. For an explanation of the form, see 240, 4; 128, e, 5; 131, 4, b, 1.

coquit: most editors translate vexes, harasses. Shuckburgh renders, "which fixed (like a sting) in your breast now burns and tortures you." He thinks the metaphor is taken from a sting or poisoned dart which causes a lasting irritation and pain. The word is used figuratively by the poets and post-Augustan prose writers. It is found in Plaut. Trin. 225; Verg. Aen. VII. 345; Sil. XIV. 103; Quint. XII. 10, 77.

**versāt**: the original quantity of the vowel is retained in this instance. See **21**, 1; **580**, III. n. 2; 375, q, 5; 72I.

**praemī**: until the time of Augustus nouns in -ius and -ium formed the genitive in a single  $\bar{\imath}$ .

enim: here and with *novi* below, *enim* is affirmative rather than explanatory. Observe its position. What other particles follow the same rule?

Ille vir: the shepherd.

**rē**: i.e. re familiari, of little wealth. The preposition might have been omitted, and then the construction would be an ablative of characteristic.

**plēnus:** final s is here elided, a common practice in the early poets; but it was generally sounded in Cicero's time. See **608**, I. n. 3; 375,  $\alpha$ ; 703, 3.

fidēī: trustworthiness. This form is older than fidēī. See 120, 2; 72, n.; 63, 2, n. 1.

**quamquam**: corrective, =  $\kappa \alpha l \tau o \iota$ , and yet. etsi in § 2 has the same DE SENEC.—8

force; but quamquam is more frequently used to modify a previous statement than etsi.

 $s\bar{s}c$ : Reid thinks the line has been changed from the original and sic inserted to correspond with ut before Flamininum.

que . . . que : rarely used for et . . . et except in poetry.

novī: perfect with the force of the present.

 ${f moder\bar{a}ti\bar{o}nem}: self-control;$  an observance of the proper limit (modus); keeping within due bounds.

 $aequitatem: even \ balance;$  to be taken like moderationem with animi.

prūdentiam: not "prudence," but practical wisdom, good sense.

eīsdem rēbus: the condition of the state after Caesar's death; namely, the increasing power of Antony and the uncertainty as to his ultimate designs.

 $m\bar{e}$  ipsum: in the same case as te. It is used instead of the more accurate quibus ego ipse commoveor.

gravius: the comparative has the force of "too."

quārum: objective genitive.

māior: i.e. too great to be set forth in this treatise.

autem: however. For the exact force of the adversative particles, see 554, III. 2; 156, b; 483-491.

ad tē: i.e. dedicated to Atticus.

2. certē: at least.

adventantis: observe the iterative or intensive form of the verb; coming rapidly on.

 $ets\bar{\imath}$ : see on quamquam above.

tē quidem: you surely, whatever others might do.

 $\mathbf{Sed}$ : this indicates a return to the thought in  $\mathit{Nunc}\ldots\mathit{visum}$  est, after a brief digression.

eō mūnere... ūterētur: such a gift as we might enjoy in common. eo is equivalent to tali. For the mood of uteretur, see 503, I.; 320; 631, 1. cōnfectiō: the task of writing.

effēcerit: for the tense, see 495, VI.; 287, c and rem.; 513.

cui quī . . . possit: equivalent to cum is, qui ei pareat . . . possit. Note the juxtaposition of the two relatives. possit is a subjunctive of cause or reason. It gives the reason for the very strong statement in the preceding sentence,  $Numquam \ldots poterit$ . pareat depends upon possit and is attracted into the same mood. This seems to me the best explanation of the construction, and it is the one given by most editors. Reid, however, regards cui as simply connective, = et ei, and  $qui \ pareat \ldots degere$  as a conditional sentence of irregular form (qui = siquis).

omne tempus aetātis: every period of life.

3. Sed: see on sed above.

cēterīs: in the neuter gender. It refers to other philosophical topics, and not to other periods of life or to the political troubles of the day. It is proleptic or anticipatory in its use, looking forward to de senectute and excluding from present consideration all themes but that. Cicero had already discussed many philosophical questions, and had in mind additional treatises of a kindred nature, but now he proposed to write only on Old Age.

dīximus multa et saepe dīcēmus: observe the chiastic arrangement.

 $\mathbf{m\overline{l}simus}\colon$  the perfect here accords with the epistolary style. See  $\mathbf{472},1\,;$  282; 252.

tribuimus: perfect tense.

parum ... in fābulā: i.e. if the principal speaker in the dialogue should be a mythical personage and not an actual historical character.

esset: for the mood, see 486, I. n. 2; 311, a; 600, 2.

apud quem: at whose house. The scene is laid at the house of Cato. With this use of apud, cf. the Greek  $\pi apd$  and French chez.

facimus: represent. It is used in the sense of inducimus.

ferat: for the mood, see 516, II.; 341, d; 541.

**Quī**: equivalent to *et is*. The relative is frequently employed in this manner to connect a sentence with the foregoing where the English would use a conjunction and demonstrative. See **453**; 180, f; 610. For a fuller account of this usage, see Madvig, 448.

**ērudītius**: for the force of the comparative, see on *gravius*, § 1. Cicero here anticipates the criticism that he well knew would be urged against his representation of Cato as a man conversant with Greek philosophy and an admirer of Grecian culture. See Introduction, p. 35.

suīs librīs: note the emphatic position of suis.

plūra: sc. dicere.

Iam: straightway.

explicabit: unfold. Cf. English explication.

**dē senectūte**: observe the attributive arrangement, giving the prepositional phrase the force of an adjective.

II. 4. cum hōc: "with this Laelius here present." Note the use of cum...cum, and see note on XIX. 67.

rērum: objective genitive, limiting sapientiam.

excellentem: superior, when compared with the wisdom of others.

 ${f quod}$  . . .  ${f senserim}$ : the subjunctive is used with  ${f quod}$  to assign a reason on the authority of a person other than the speaker. This principle of construction is also applied to a reason based upon the speaker's own

thought at some previous time. See **516**, II. 1; 341, d, rem.; 541; Madvig, 357, a, 1 and 2.

 $\mathbf{sic}$ : ita might have been employed, but sic, as a correlative to the following ut, is more emphatic.

odiosa: disagreeable; it should not be rendered "hateful."

Quibus: the dative of possession.

enim: certainly; as in § 1.

bene beātēque vīvendum: a pure and happy life. Cf. De Fin. V. 29, 88, Nec dubitatum, quin in virtute omnis, ut bene, sic etiam beate vivendi spes poneretur.

 $ips\bar{i}$ : observe that the demonstrative is made to agree with the subject, and not with se.

necessitās: law.

adferat: subjunctive of characteristic; see 503, I.; 320; 631, 2. Some editors, however, regard quod as equal to si id, and the subjunctive conditional.

**Quō** in genere: note the order. A monosyllabic preposition is often thus placed between a qualifying word and its noun, as *quam ob rem*, *magna cum laude*.

ut... adeptam: chiastic arrangement. The reading, adeptam, is not certain. Some MSS. and many editions have adepti, but the meaning is practically the same in either case. The objection to adeptam, that Cicero nowhere else uses it in the passive, is not conclusive, from the fact that he does sometimes employ the perfect participle of other deponent verbs in the passive, and Sallust, Cat. VII. 3, has adepta libertate; Tacitus, Ann. I. 7, 8, adepto principatu.

stultitiae: translate, foolish men; the abstract is here used for the concrete.

āiunt: those who say this are the stulti implied in stultitiae.

putāssent: the subjunctive in a dependent clause in the indirect discourse. The direct form would be putaveram.

falsum: that which is untrue. Note the substantival use of the adjective.

Out: how For this case-form used as an adverb see 188 II 2: 104 c.

 $\mathbf{Qu\bar{1}}\colon how.$  For this case-form, used as an adverb, see **188**, II. 2; 104, c; 105, 3.

**Praeterita enim**: enim is here explicative. See on I. 1.

quamvīs longa: however long.

**cum efflüxisset**: the subjunctive is used because the clause depends upon *posset*. The case is a supposed one, and *cum* has practically the force of *si*, *if*.

consolatio: this is the reading of the best MSS. Many editors prefer to follow inferior MSS., and read consolatione.

posset: for the mood, see on esset, I. 3.

**5**. quae: see on qui, I. 3.

esset: this is a more modest form of wish than utinam sit. The imperfect implies that Cato does not think his wisdom worthy of their admiration.

tamquam deum: the masculine is here used in the generic sense, a divine being. Cf. Sen. Ben. IV. 7, 1, Quid enim aliud est natura quam deus et divina ratio toti mundo partibus eius inserta.

 $\bar{\mathbf{a}}$  qu $\bar{\mathbf{a}}$ : equivalent to ab ea enim; the reference is to Nature, which is here personified.

aetātis: employed in the sense of vitae.

descriptae: some editors prefer discriptae, for which there is also MS. authority; but descriptae, written out, seems to harmonize better with the context than discriptae, assigned.—Reid.

inertī: indolent.

fuit: i.e. it was and always will be. It is according to the nature of things. aliquid extrēmum: something final.

**bācīs**... **frūctibus**: note the difference in the meaning of these words, here distinctly brought out by the genitives *arborum* and *terrae*.

viētum: vimen and vitis have also the same root.

caducum: ready to fall; derived from cado.

quod: but this. The leading thought is really found in this clause.

 $\textbf{ferundum}: for this form, instead of \textit{ferendum}, see \textbf{239} \ ; 126, f.-n.\ 2 \ ; \textit{130}, 8.$ 

molliter: with submission.

Gigantum: see on Aetna gravius, p. 48. For what else but resisting nature is equivalent to fighting as the giants did against the gods? The English arrangement of the clauses differs somewhat from the Latin. Howson gives a very concise rendering, "Rebellion against nature is nothing else but war with the gods."

**6.** Atqui: Reid translates, *True*, but. Atqui is here used to confirm the preceding statement, and also to add another point to the argument.

 $n\bar{o}b\bar{i}s$ : explained by the clause, ut . . . pollicear.

pollicear: to promise. The principal clause, on which the final clause depends, may sometimes be omitted, as in this instance. It must then be inferred from the context.

fēceris... didicerimus: future perfect tense, where the English would employ the simple future. In place of didicerimus, Gernhard suggested that si nos docueris, if you shall have taught us, would have been more natural after feceris. The change was probably made because didicerimus puts the statement, which is practically a request, in a milder way, and also harmonizes with the intervening forms, speramus and volumus.

quibus . . . rationibus: how, i.e. by what course of reasoning.

ingravēscentem: note the inceptive force, beginning to grow heavy, becoming more and more burdensome.

possīmus: the subjunctive used in a dependent question.

vestrūm. Why vestrum and not vestri?

confeceris: for the mood, see 513, II. n. 1; 312, rem.; 602.

quam . . . ingrediundum sit: equivalent to quae . . . ingrediunda sit. For this construction see 371, I. 2, 2) n.; 294 c. (where this example is cited). For the form ingrediundum, see on ferundum, II. 5.

**istūc:** the object of *videre*. Note its force as the so-called demonstrative of the second person. With *quo pervenisti* it is equivalent to "the end of your journey."

III. 7. Faciam, ut poterō: I will do the best I can. The Latin uses potero and not possum, because the time of the subordinate clause is in reality future. In English the future in the principal clause (faciam) is sufficient to indicate the real time involved in both clauses. See 470, 2; 278, b; 242, 1.

interfui: interfui querelis here means, "I have been present when complaints were made," and so, "I have heard the complaints."

quae: a case of anacoluthon. The construction is changed after the parenthetical clause, pares autem. The words quae deplorare refer to the idea in querelis. The author proceeds to give specific instances of the complaints to which a general allusion is made in the first part of the sentence.

**cōnsulārēs**: *ex-consuls*. Cicero was quite careful to apply this term of respect to all who were entitled to it. He was very proud of the fact that he was himself a *consularis*. — Shuckburgh.

nostrī ferē aequālēs: Cato was consul in the year 195 B.C.

carërent... spernerentur: the subjunctive, because the reasons are stated on the authority of Salinator and Albinus. See on *ferat*, I. 3, and *senserim*, II. 4.

vītam nūllam: "life was not worth the living."

putārent . . . essent solitī: these verbs depend upon subjunctives and take the same mood; see 529, II. n. 1, 1; 342; 663.

Quī: see on I. 3.

mihi: note its emphatic position.

esset accūsandum: for the mood, see on uteretur, I. 2.

**Nam:** stronger than enim; the latter is corroborative and explanatory, while nam formally introduces a real reason. See on enim, I. 1.

id: refers to the two complaints mentioned above, carerent and sper-

nerentur, and treats them for the moment as involving but one idea; namely, the hard lot of old age.

accideret . . . venīrent: observe the mood and tense.

**ūsū**: usu venire, to come in experience, i.e. to happen, to occur. Some editors think usu may be a predicative dative. Roby, 1238, regards it as an ablative of manner. For the numerous instances of this expression in Cicero, see Harpers' Lat. Lex. s.v. usus, II. C. 2.

quorum ... querela: and yet I have observed that the old age of many of them is free from complaint. The phrase sine querela has the force of an adjective. The prepositions cum and sine are frequently used in such attributive expressions.

quī . . . ferrent: subjunctive of characteristic.

non moleste: litotes, not ill, i.e. gladly, libenter. Instead of the usual nec...nec, the first connective is divided into et...non; this throws the force of the negative particle on moleste.

8. sed förtasse dixerit quispiam: but perhaps some one may say. That this may be taken as the meaning of the Latin is perfectly apparent; the exact construction of dixerit, however, is a mooted question. Many editors regard it as a potential subjunctive, in which the perfect has practically the same force as the present. Roby, vol. II. Pref. pp. 101-106, after a careful consideration of the subject, inclines strongly to the opinion that the verb is future perfect indicative.

opēs: influence, in the state.

copias: wealth.

dignitatem: rank, high social standing.

tolerābiliōrem: observe the passive force of this verbal adjective, "that which can be endured."

 ${\it id}$ : i.e. the possession of so many desirable things; such good fortune.

istud: see on istuc, II. 6.

levis . . . gravis: chiastic arrangement.

nec . . . non gravis : nor can it fail to be burdensome.

9. omnīnō: certainly. arma: defensive weapons.

senectūtis: subjective genitive.

artes exercitationesque virtutum: knowledge and good deeds. With artes sc. liberales. But Cicero has especially in mind the effect of artes liberales or optimae in giving one knowledge and intellectual power.

cultae: the participle has a conditional force, if cultivated.

**cum** . . .  $v\bar{s}$  rest : for this use of the subjunctive in a general condition, see **518**, 2; 309, a.

ecferunt: an earlier form for efferunt.

numquam deserunt: Reid very aptly compares this passage with Pro Arch. 7, at haec studia.

quamquam: see on I. 1.

conscientia . . . recordatio: observe the order.

bene factorum: participles when used substantively sometimes retain their adverbial modifiers.

IV. 10. Ego: emphatic.

eum . . . recēpit: these words are regarded as a gloss by some editors, but there seems to be no sufficient reason for rejecting them from the text. eum is in apposition with Maximum.

comitate . . . gravitas: dignity seasoned with courtesy. condita is from condire.

mores: character, disposition.

Quamquam: corrective, as in I. 1.

eum colere coepī: I learned to respect him. colere expresses the feeling of a young man for an older and more experienced friend.

ad Capuam: for the use of ad with the name of a town, see **380**, II. 1 (1); 258, 1, b, n. 2; 337, 4.

quadrienniō post: i.e. after an interval of four complete years.

quem magistrātum gess $\overline{i}$ : an office which I held. Quaestor implies quaesturam, which explains magistratum.

cum quidem: = tum quidem cum, at that time namely, when. — Meissner. suāsor... fuit: spoke in favor of. What kind of a noun is suasor? cum: concessive.

rem: i.e. rem publicam.

**Noenum**: from ne + oenum (unum), an old form for non. Most editors follow Lachman, who suggested noenum in place of non enim of the MSS.

rūmōrēs: the harsh reports circulated by those who were dissatisfied with Fabius' slow methods. Some, however, understand it in the sense of "fame."

ponebat: for the quantity of a, see on versat, I. 1.

plūsque magisque: the MS. reading is postque magisque. Bernays suggested plusque, which Reid adopts; Bergk proposed priusque and is followed by Sommerbrodt.

11. cum quidem: see on § 10. in togā: in civil life, as a statesman.

iterum: numeral adverbs are frequently used with official titles.

virītim: among the plebs.

contrā senātūs auctōritātem: against the will of the senate. An auctoritas senatus was a resolution passed by the senators as expressive of their sentiments, but lacking the completeness and legal force of a decree, consultum. In this instance the senate favored the aristocracy against the plebeians.

dividenti: attempting to divide.

cum esset: concessive.

gererentur: the subjunctive because dependent upon an infinitive and essential to the general thought of the sentence.

ferrentur: ferre legem is the regular Latin expression for the English, "to propose a law," "to introduce a bill." For the mood of ferrentur, see on gererentur, above.

12. admīrābilius: more worthy of admiration.

quō modō: equivalent to modum quo.

in manibus: sc. omnium, in every one's hands, and so, well-known.

 $quam := et \ eam.$ 

**philosophum . . . contemnimus**: the calm and dignified manner in which Fabius bore his grief at the loss of his son impressed Cato more forcibly than any philosophical theorizing about the proper method of enduring such affliction.

in luce: "in the light of publicity."

in oculis: i.e. before his fellow-citizens, in their presence. It does not mean "in their estimation."

 $\mathbf{Qu\bar{i}}$  . . . praecepta: what a gift he had for entertaining and instructing! — Meissner.

**Multae** . . . litterae: he was well read for a Roman. This use of ut to limit a preceding statement is not uncommon.

externa bella: the wars of foreign nations.

ita: to be taken with fruebar. It is explained by quasi . . . divinarem.

unde: equivalent to a quo.

discerem: see on ferrent, III. 7.

V. 13. Quōrsus . . . tam multa: sc. dixi; some editors understand pertinent or spectant. For similar elliptical expressions, see XII. 42; XIII. 44. They naturally follow a lengthy exposition.

Quia profectō: because certainly. The reply might have taken the form of a purpose clause, "That you might certainly see."

**senectūtem**: note its emphatic position at the close of the sentence.

Nec: equivalent to et non, and yet all cannot be.

Scīpiones . . . Māximī: such men as Scipio or Maximus.

expūgnātiōnēs: the plural of the abstract noun is used to denote frequent instances of the act. Abstracts in the plural are less common in English than in Latin.

**recordentur**: for the cases admissible with *recordor*, see **407**, n. 1; 219, b; 376, 2.

Est... senectūs: "A life passed with repose and refinement and taste has for its part (etiam) a calm and gentle old age."—L. Huxley. Observe the connectives; quiete corresponds to pure atque eleganter.

qualem: sc. fuisse senectutem.

vīxitque: and yet he lived. The enclitic is adversative in force.

cessāvit: he was always at work, never idle.

Quī, cum ex eō quaererētur: we might have expected Exquo cum quaereretur. The imperfect in quaereretur accords with the real time involved in the historical present, inquit.

esse in vītā: to live. The ancients believed suicide right and desirable under certain circumstances.

quod accüsem: for the construction after nihil habeo, see 503, I. n. 2 (where this example is cited); 631, 2.

doctō homine: a philosopher.

14. Sua . . . suam: emphatic.

fortis: gallant. The lines are taken from the eighth book of the Annales. spatio... suprēmo: at the end of the race.

Vīcit Olympia: has won the Olympic prize. Olympia may be regarded as a cognate accusative. This use of vincere is in imitation of the Greek 'Ολόμπια νικᾶν. The Olympic games, the greatest of the national festivals of the Greeks, were celebrated every four years at Olympia in Elis.

confectus: see on plenus, I. 1.

**Quem** . . . **meminisse**: for the accusative with *meminisse*, see **407**, n. 1 (2); 219, 2, a; 376, 2.

hī cōnsulēs: the present consuls, namely in the year 150 B.C., the supposed date of the dialogue.

māgnā võce et bonīs lateribus: with loud voice and good lungs.

15. Etenim: and indeed; this marks a transition to the real discussion of the subject, senectus.

videātur: observe Cicero says not "is," but seems.

**āvocet...faciat...prīvet...absit:** the subjunctive is used because the reason in each instance is not the speaker's, but one urged by those who find fault with old age; see on *ferat*, I. 3.

ā rēbus gerendīs: from active duties. Infirmius: weaker, than it had been before. quanta quamque . . . iūsta: how important and how reasonable.

VI. A rebus . . . abstrahit: a statement of the topic to be discussed. Quibus: the preposition and verb are to be supplied from the preceding sentence.

An eīs: there is an ellipsis of *omnibusne*, the first alternative. "Does old age take us away from all duties, or only from those," etc. An affirmative answer to an eis is implied. See 353, 2, n. 4; 211, b; 457.

iuventūte . . . et vīribus: youthful vigor; an example of hendiadys. Nūllaene: the interrogative particle is appended to the emphatic word.

īnfīrmīs corporibus: ablative absolute; equivalent to a concessive clause.

 ${\tt anim} ar{{\tt o}}$ : the intellectual power of old men is contrasted with the physical vigor of youth,  $iuventute\ et\ viribus.$ 

administrentur: the subjunctive of characteristic.

cum . . . dēfendēbant: cum is here merely temporal; see 521, II. 1; 325, a; 580.

16. non dubitāvit: he did not hesitate.

Quō vōbīs . . . viāī: from the sixth book of the Annales. vōbīs: the dative of reference; it may be translated your.

Antehāc: to be read as a dissyllable.

dēmentēs: observe the oxymoron, witless wits.

viāī: an old form of the genitive. It is to be taken as a partitive limiting Quo.

et tamen: and yet. The meaning is this: it is not necessary to rely on Ennius' account of the speech; the oration itself can be consulted at first hand.

cum: though.

**cēnsor**: it was very unusual for one to be elected censor before he had held the consulship.

grandem sānē fuisse: as he was probably not less than forty-three when he was first made consul he must have been seventy or more at the outbreak of the war with Pyrrhus, 280 B.C.

17. Nihil . . . adferunt: they prove nothing.

negant: avoid the literal rendering, "deny."

similësque sunt ut sī quī: an unusual combination, employed to introduce a supposed example, *i.e.* "It is about the same as if one should say that the pilot does nothing on the voyage." Those who declare that old age is idle, display as little reason as those who say the pilot has nothing to do.

cum: causal, since.

non faciat . . . iuvenēs. At vēro . . . facit: this is Reid's text.

Many editors prefer *Non facit*... facit. The MS. reading is faciat... faciat, except in one instance in which facit is found in the last clause. Meissner brackets non faciat... faciat.

 ${f m\bar a}$ iōra et meliōra: i.e. involving more responsibility and contributing more to the safety of the others.

quibus: note its twofold construction with orbari and augeri.

18. Nisi forte: ironical.

mīles . . . cōnsul: see Introduction, p. 33. Note the repetition of the connective.

genere: note the use of the singular where the English idiom requires the plural.

male . . . cogitantī: treacherously plotting.

iam diū . . . multō ante: the first expression emphasizes the continuance of the plotting; the second shows that Cato began to urge war against Carthage long before it was officially declared. The present in *denuntio* implies that he has been and is still advocating the commencement of hostilities.

excīsam: some editors read exscissam from exscindo.

19. utinam . . . tibi reservent: we are to remember the date of the supposed dialogue, 150 B.C., and the actual time of writing, 44 B.C.

avī: P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Maior.

reliquiās: that which was left unfinished by Scipio's grandfather. With this construction of. Verg. Aen. I. 30, reliquias Danaum atque immitis Achilli.

tertius... trīcēsimus: all the MSS. have tertius, which puts Scipio's death in 183 B.C., and so agrees with Livy, XXXIX. 50. 10; but since this conflicts with the statement Anno ante me censorem and also with novem annis post... consulatum, for Cato was consul 195 and censor 184 B.C., some editors read sextus or quintus, making 185 B.C. the date of his death. This will remove the discrepancy, but involves a change in the text. The numbers VI. and III. might easily be confused by a copyist.

iterum: to be taken with consul creatus est, elected consul for the second time, which would make his election fall in the year 195 and his term of office 194 B.C.

Num: observe the force of the interrogative particle.

paenitēret: the imperfect instead of the pluperfect, to denote continuance of the action.

 $\mathbf{enim}$ : enim presupposes a negative answer and gives the reason for such a reply.

hastīs: the allusion is really to the *pilum*, which was shorter than the *hasta* proper and was used for hurling long distances.

cōnsiliō . . . sententiā: cf. consilio . . . sententia, § 17.

quae: equivalent to et ea. The neuter is used because the antecedents are not of the same gender and do not refer to living beings.

senātum: a body of old men. senatus and senex have the same root sen. Cf. also XVI. 56, senatores, id est senes.

**20.** volētis: note the exactness of the Latin in the use of the future in this instance. Cf. faciam ut potero, III. 7.

externa: the history of foreign nations.

 ${\bf Cedo}$  . . .  ${\bf cit\bar{o}}$ : the verse is an acatalectic iambic tetrameter. The spondee may take the place of the iambus in any foot except the last. The following is the scansion:—

**Cedo**: give, tell; an old imperative of uncertain origin. Its plural is cette. **quī**: how.

tantam: "great as it was."

**percontantibus** . . . **respondentur**: suggested by Mommsen and adopted by Kornitzer in place of *percontantur*, *ut est in* . . . *Ludo*; *respondentur*.

Lūdō: neither the reading nor the meaning is very certain. It may be the particular name of the play or the general word for a dramatic production.

 $\textbf{Pr\bar{o}veni\bar{e}bant}$  . . .  $adul\bar{e}scentul\bar{\iota}$  : in the same measure as the preceding and scanned thus : —

the spondee, or its equivalent, may replace the iambus except in the last foot; accordingly we have the dactyl in the first and sixth places.

**Proveniebant:** many editors take this as an agricultural term, "they were coming forward," or "springing up," i.e. as crops grow.

VII. 21. At memoria minuitur: at introduces a supposed objection, stated merely for the purpose of refutation.

Crēdo: in an ironical sense; "undoubtedly."

exerceās: for the mood and the use of the second person, see 508, 5, 2; 309,  $\alpha$ ; 595, 3.

nātūrā tardior: a little slow, or dull, naturally.

aetāte processisset: cf. aetate provectum, IV. 10. For the mood, see 524; 336 B, a, n. 2; 650.

quī Aristīdēs . . . solitum: that he was accustomed to greet Aristides as Lysimachus. After the analogy of verbs of naming, salutare may take

two accusatives, but in this instance two accusatives would be ambiguous, therefore qui Aristides esset, the one who was Aristides, is used in place of one. Lysimachum must be translated as Lysimachus, i.e. he was not in the habit of taking Aristides for Lysimachus by mistake. esset is in the subjunctive because it depends upon an infinitive, see 529, II. n. 1. 1; 342; 663.

**Equidem**: from the interjection e + quidem; usually employed with the first person singular; for my part, so far as I am concerned. Observe that, unlike quidem, it may stand first in its clause.

sunt: equivalent to vivunt.

sepulcra: epitaphs. He was gathering material for his Origines.

quod āiunt: ut aiunt and ut dicitur are more common in this sense. Long, in commenting on this passage, says: "It was, says Erasmus, a popular notion that it injured the memory to read sepulchral inscriptions. I do not know where Erasmus got this from." Otto, Sprichwörter der Römer, p. 218, thinks these words have no reference to a proverb, but rather to a common superstition that one who spends his time in reading epitaphs and studying the history of ancient times is apt to forget the present and become unfitted for his ordinary duties.

senem: used instead of a clause, when, or because, he was an old man.

vadimonia constituta: engagements at court. This expression applies to both plaintiff and defendant. To give bail is vadimonium promittere. Cf. Hor. Sat. I. 9, 36, et casu tunc respondere vadato Debebat.

**22. Quid**: for rhetorical effect in passing to another point. It may be rendered *furthermore*. The following nominatives are subjects of *memine-runt*, "Furthermore, how many things jurisconsults, pontiffs, augurs, and philosophers remember, even in their old age!"

ingenia: mental powers, i.e. their inborn talents.

modo: provided, if only.

honōrātīs: those who have held public offices, honores. It is contrasted with privata; so claris with quieta.

quod . . . cum: and when on account of his zeal for writing.

rem . . . familiārem: his property.

 $\bar{\mathbf{a}}$  fīli $\bar{\mathbf{s}}$ s: according to the common version of the story, by his oldest son, Iophon.

in . . . vocātus est: a Roman legal expression. The first step in an action was the summons before the magistrate, *vocatio in ius*, to determine whether there was an actual cause for trial.

nostrō mōre: such provision was made by the law of the XII. Tables. male rem gerentibus: mismanaging their property.

patribus bonīs interdīcī: patribus is in the dative; bonis, in the ablative, meaning, from the control of their property. For this construction, with interdici, see Harpers' Lat. Lex. s.v. interdico, B,  $\delta$ .

eam fābulam: the play.

in manibus: *i.e.* he was still engaged in perfecting it. The expression, *in manibus*, in IV. 12, has a different meaning.

proximē: lately.

sententiīs . . . est līberātus: he was acquitted by the votes of the judges.

23. Num igitur hunc: Cato now mentions Greek poets and philosophers who continued their intellectual pursuits even in extreme old age.

studiōrum agitātiō: "vigorous pursuit of their studies."

24. Age: marking a transition in the discourse.

 ${\bf ut}$  . . .  ${\bf omitt\bar{a}mus}$  : a final clause. The verb on which it depends is to be supplied.

possum: see on XVI. 55.

ex . . . Sabīnō: where Cato had his country home.

serendīs... percipiendīs... condendīs frūctibus: gerundive construction in the ablative of specification. In rendering, use the active form, in storing the produce.

in aliīs: proleptic; i.e. in other things except the one which follows, namely, the planting of trees. Some editors prefer his, which is the reading of one MS.

annum: "one year more."

Idem: the nominative plural.

**Serit** . . . **prōsint**: the bacchius  $(\smile \angle \_)$  is the fundamental foot of the verse, which may be scanned as follows:—

# 0 \_\_, 0 \_\_, 0 \_\_, \_ \_\_.

The final syllable in serit is made long by the ictus; the last foot is a molossus, but some editors regard o in saeclo as short, an example of systole.

quae . . . prosint: a final clause.

saeclō: generation,

25. quamvīs sit: a concessive clause.

haec: his estate.

VIII. Caecilius: Caecilius Statius.

alterī saeclō prōspiciente: prospiciens with the dative means not only "looking forward to," but "looking out for." The allusion is to the quotation above, Serit . . . prosint.

illud: the following.

īdem: i.e. Caecilius; sc. dixit.

**Edepol** . . . **videt**: taken from Caecilius' play entitled *Plocium* (*The Necklace*), based upon one of Menander's. The lines are iambic senarii and may be scanned as follows:—

Edepól senectus sí nil quicqu $^{am}$  aliúd viti Adpórtes tecum,  $c^{um}$  ádvenis,  $un^{um}$  íd sat est, Quod diú vivendo múlta, quae non vólt videt.

Edepol is an anapaest ; diu is pronounced as a monosyllable. Tischer, however, scans  $qu\check{o}d$   $d\check{i}u$ .

**Edepol**: formed from the old interjection e + deus + Pollux; literally, Ah! god Pollux; render indeed, truly.

quicquam: pleonastic with nil.

vitī: from vitium.

videt: experiences; its subject, the indefinite one, is implied in diu vivendo,
which is equal to si quis diu vivit.

incurrit: a stronger word than incidit; indicating the impetuosity of youth.

Illud: see on illud above.

vērō . . . vitiōsius : still more objectionable.

**Tum equidem** . . . alter $\bar{i}$ : taken from a play of Caecilius entitled Ephesio; in the same measure as the verses above and may be scanned thus:—

 $\mathbf{T}^{um}$  equid<sup>em</sup> in senect<sup>a</sup> hoc députo misérrimum Sentír<sup>e</sup> e<sup>a</sup> aetat<sup>e</sup> eúmps<sup>e</sup> ess<sup>e</sup> odios<sup>um</sup> álteri.

Observe the anapaest in the first line and the dactyl in the second.

senectā: found mostly in poetry and post-Augustan prose.

eumpse: archaic for ipsum, see 186, V. f.-n. 5; 100, c; 103, 3, n. 1. It refers to a person implied in the abstract senecta and is the subject of sentire.

 ${\tt odi\bar{o}sum}:\ disagree able.$ 

**26.** indole: *inborn*, *natural quality*. Found only once in the plural, Gell. XIX. 12, 5.

dēlectantur: take pleasure in.

coluntur et dīliguntur: are honored and esteemed. colere means to regard one with honor or reverence; diligere (dis + legere) implies love based upon respect; amare, to love, from affection or passion.

praeceptīs: in the locative ablative; see 425, II. 1. 1; 254, b, 1.

minus: modifies iucundos.

quam . . . iūcundōs: we might expect quam mihi vos estis iucundi; see on me ipsum, I. 1.

Sed: but to return to the point. With et melius Caecilius, Cato began a digression from the course of his argument.

ut: an interrogative particle, how.

senectūs: abstract for concrete; old men.

**mōliēns**: undertaking. The participle differs from the verb here in emphasizing the continuance of the action.

cūiusque: sc. senis.

Quid . . . aliquid: "What shall we say of those who are always adding something to their knowledge." Quid is for rhetorical effect; see on VII. 22.

et Solonem: contrasted with et ego, below.

senex: when I was an old man.

sīc: to be taken with quasi and not with avide.

exemplīs: as illustrations. in fidibus: on the lyre.

**vellem:** for the full construction, Lahmeyer cites *Tusc.* I. 41, 98, *Equidem saepe emori*, *si fieri posset*, *vellem.* See **485**; **486**, I. n. 2; 311, a and b; 257, n. 2.

discēbant . . . fidibus: sc. canere, to play upon.

sed in . . . ēlabōrāvī: but in literature, at least, I have accomplished something.

IX. 27. Nec nunc quidem, etc.: Cato begins the refutation of the second charge against old age. Nec joins the sentence to the preceding and shows its negative character; Nor do I now indeed feel the want of, etc.

locus alter: the second topic. Cf. V. 15, alteram quod corpus . . . infirmius.

non plus quam: any more than.

taurī aut elephantī: sc. vires.

Quod est: sc. tibi.

quicquid agās: the subjunctive is used in a general condition to denote the act of an indefinite subject, whatever one does.

Quae enim . . . Crotōniātae: a question implying a negative answer is here used, for rhetorical effect, instead of a direct statement.

lacertōs: muscles. lacertus refers to the upper arm, from the elbow (ulna) to the shoulder (umerus), in distinction from the fore-arm (bracchium).

At: indicating emotion. It implies an ellipsis, "How I would like to exercise with you, but." — Sommerbrodt.

istī: note the force of this demonstrative.

extē: i.e. on account of your intellectual ability and personal character. est provēcta: continued.

prūdentia: sc. iuris.

28. Orātor: the position of the word shows that it is used to introduce a new topic; As for the orator, I fear lest he be enfeebled by old age.

Omnīnō: concessive, true, to be sure; it is about equivalent to sane.

canōrum . . . splendēscit: note the mixed metaphor, "sound shining with luster." Examples of a similar usage attributing brightness to sound are found among Greek writers.

et vidētis: et is adversative, and yet you see.

Sed tamen: opposed to Omnino above.

decorus: predicative.

senī: the reading of Madvig for senis.

sermō: style of speaking.

Scīpiōnī . . . Laeliō: a Scipio and a Laelius; i.e. to young men like these.

senectūte stīpātā studiīs iuventūtis: observe the alliteration, and the use of abstract terms. Translate studiis iuventutis, by young men eager to learn.

29. doceat, Instituat . . . instruat : teach, train, prepare.

consenuerint . . . defecerint: for the mood, see 515, III., n. 3; 313, a; 606.

Etsī: see on quamquam, I. 1.

30. quidem: used to introduce an important illustration, Cyrus for example. moriëns: "on his death-bed."

cum . . . esset: concessive; to be taken with the following clause.

admodum senex: he is said to have been seventy.

negat: the present may be used of authors whose works are extant; see 467, 3; 276, f.

cum: although.

 ${\bf bon\bar{i}s}$  . . .  ${\bf v\bar{i}ribus}$  : the ablative of characteristic.

esse: for the present infinitive depending upon *memini*, see **537**, 1; 336, A, n. 1; 281, 2, n.

Nihil: to be taken with necesse.

mihi: the dative depends upon necesse est, and is used instead of the accusative, to emphasize the person.

id: refers to de me ipso dicere.

**X. 31.** Vidētisne: *ne* appended to the principal verb often has the force of *nonne*, and expects the answer *yes*.

ut: how.

praedicet: boasts.

vidēbat: this is a better reading than vivebat, which some editors adopt.

vēra praedicāns: the participle takes the place of a conditional clause.

īnsolēns: arrogant.

Etenim: adds a statement corroborative of the foregoing.

egēbat: egere, to be destitute of something which one needs; indigere, to feel the need, differing from egere in emphasizing the sense of need rather than the need itself; desiderare, to miss, to long for; requirere, to ask back again, i.e. to feel the loss and ask to have it repaired; carere, to be without,—generally, though not always, in reference to something desirable; opus esse, to need something for use; vacare, to be free from,—usually in respect to what is undesirable.

dux ille Graeciae: Agamemnon. ille in the sense of that well-known, famous.

nusquam: nowhere in the Iliad or Odyssey.

**Āiācis**: for the case, see **391**, II. 4 (2); 234, d, 2; 359, Rem. 1.

acciderit: in the subjunctive because in a dependent clause in the *oratio* obliqua; see **525**, 2; 337; 656, 661.

32. Quārtum . . . octōgēsimum: I am in my eighty-fourth year.

vellem: see on VIII. 26.

idem: the neuter pronoun used as cognate accusative after gloriari.

**possem**: ut is sometimes omitted, especially after volo, malo, nolo, facio. quod: as.

quoa: as.

mīles . . . quaestor : cf. IV. 10.

dēpūgnāvī: the indicative emphasizes the fact stated. sed . . . ēnervāvit: a return to the direct discourse.

hospitēs: guest-friends; i.e. friends from foreign cities and countries.

fierī: after monet the subjunctive might have been used.

**māllem:** see on *vellem* above. Cato takes the proverb literally, whereas it simply means that one must begin in early years to live prudently, if one desires to reach a good old age.

cui . . . occupātus: "whom I refused to see, on the plea that I was occupied."

fuerim: subjunctive of characteristic introduced by cui.

At: see on VII. 21.

33. Moderātiō: proper control, right use.

modo: see on VII. 22.

nē: truly. For its form and use, see Harpers' Lat. Lex.

non...desīderio tenēbitur: will not greatly feel the lack, stronger than non desiderabit.

Olympiae: in the locative like names of towns.

cum . . . sustinëret: translate by the present participle, bearing on his shoulders. Many editors cite Quint. I. 9. 5, Milo, quem vitulum assueverat ferre, taurum ferebat.

hās corporis: Milo's physical strength.

mālīs: potential subjunctive in an interrogative sentence. Cf. mallem, § 32, and note the force of the tense in each.

**ūtāre** . . . requīrās: for the mood and tense of these two verbs, see **484**, IV. n. 2; **489**, 3; 266,  $\alpha$ ; 269, b; 263, 2,  $\alpha$ .

dum adsit, cum absit: dum and cum are simply temporal; adsit depends upon utare, and absit upon requiras.

nisi forte: see on VI. 18.

aetāte progressī: cf. aetate processisset, VII. 21.

requirere: see on egebat, X. 31.

Infirmitās . . . mātūritās: note the apt terms chosen to characterize each period of life.

 $\mathbf{su\bar{o}}: its \ own$ ; i.e. at the fitting time.

percipī: this is used of the gathering of ripe fruit. Cf. VII. 24, percipiendis... fructibus.

**34.** Audīre: the present audire is used with the force of the perfect, like the Greek ἀκούειν; I think you have heard, and so, I think you are informed. — Meissner.

capite operto: predicate ablative of characteristic.

siccitātem: this term applies to the body of an athlete in training; it denotes hardness of flesh and freedom from humors, impurities, and flabbiness.

XI. Non sunt . . . vīrēs: this states a defect in old age for the purpose of showing that it does not necessarily render it unhappy. Some editors read ne sint.

 $\bar{\mathbf{a}}$  senectute: from old men; the abstract for the concrete as in the preceding sentence.

lēgibus et īnstitūtīs: by law and custom.

**non modo:** for non modo non; the second non is usually omitted before  $sed\ ne\ldots quidem$  when the verb of the second clause belongs also to the first. See **552**, 2; 149, e; 482, 5. 1.

quod: adverbial accusative. For this construction, cogi aliquid, see Harpers' Lat. Lex. s.v. cogo, II. B, 1; cf. also Verg. Aen. III. 56:—

## Quid non mortalia pectora cogis?

35. At: see on VII. 21.

At id: the reply to at multi.

valētūdinis: valetudo means simply state of health; whether good or bad will be determined by the context.

is: in apposition with filius.

valētūdine: see on capite operto, X. 34.

alterum: second only to his father.

illud: it stands for ille, but agrees with lumen in gender.

 ${\tt paternam}$  . . . anim $\overline{{\tt n}}$ : the son had inherited the father's  ${\it greatness}$  of  ${\it soul}$ .

Resistendum: emphasized by its position.

vitia: deficiencies.

dīligentiā: about equivalent to diligenti cura valetudinis, as shown by the following sentence.

**36.** ūtendum exercitātionibus: for the construction, see **544**, 2, n. 5; 294, c; 427, 4.

tantum. only so much.

non: note the asyndeton; we would expect et or sed non.

mentī atque animō: the intellect and soul.

haec: neuter plural, referring to menti atque animo. See 445, 3, n. 1; 198, a.

lumini oleum: instilles admits the dative and accusative.

instilles: for the mood, see on exerceas, VII. 21.

quōs ait: sc. esse.

cōmicōs... senēs: the stupid old men in the play. The quotation is given more fully in De Am. XXVI. 99.

hōs sīgnificat: by these he means. significat, after the analogy of verbs of naming, admits two accusatives; cf. salutare, VII. 21.

 ${\bf dissol\bar{u}t\bar{o}s}:\ careless,\ broken\ down.$ 

quae vitia sunt: faults which belong. For this use of the relative, cf. quem magistratum, IV. 10.

dēlīrātio: dotage. For its derivation, see Harpers' Lat. Lex. s.v.

37. rōbustōs: sturdy.

tantās clientēlās: so many dependents.

et caecus et senex: note the emphatic position and the concessive force.

in suōs: over his household.

metuēbant, verēbantur: the distinction in the meaning of these verbs may be gathered from the subjects, servi, liberi. Cf. the English revere.

vigēbat . . . disciplīna: the reading is doubtful. Reid has v. i. illo animus patrius et d.; Sommerbrodt, v. i. illa domo patrii moris d.; still other readings are given. patrius, of our fathers.

38. Ita: restrictive, equivalent to ea lege, on this condition.

ēmancipāta est: primarily a legal expression. emancipo meant strictly to put a son out of the hand and power of the father. This was accomplished at first by three fictitious sales; in later times by a simple declaration before the proper magistrate. emancipo was also used in a wider sense to denote the transfer of ownership in property from one person to another. Again, it was employed, apart from its legal significance, in the general sense of giving up, or surrendering something to another.

in manibus: see on VII. 22.

 ${\tt caus\bar{a}rum}$  . . .  ${\tt d\bar{e}fend\bar{i}}$ : of all the famous causes in which I have appeared as advocate.

nunc . . . māximē: at this very time. The expression is elliptical; see Harpers' Lat. Lex. s.v. Cum, G, 1, b.

conficio: compose; he was preparing his speeches for publication.

 ${\tt exercendae}$  . . .  ${\tt gr\bar{a}ti\bar{a}}$  : the practice of the Pythagoreans was for moral discipline rather than for exercise of the memory, merely.

dēsīderō: miss; see on egebat, X. 31.

Adsum: I aid my friends in court; especially as an advocate.

frequēns: an adjective where the English idiom would require an adverb.

**ūltrō**: of my own accord. The senators might branch off into a discussion of almost any subject they chose when giving their opinion upon the question proposed by the presiding officer.

lectulus: a couch. The Romans usually reclined when engaged in literary labor of any kind.

vīventī: the dative of reference, see 384, 4, n. 3; 235; 352. Some editors take it as depending upon obrepat.

sēnsim sine sēnsū aetās senēscit: the alliteration (ss, s, ss, ss, ss) corresponds to the gradual fading away of the life of an old man.—Sommerbrodt.

# XII. 39. vituperātiō senectūtis: charge against old age.

quod...dīcunt: the full construction would be, quod, ut dicunt, careat or caret. For the construction in the text, an infinitive depending upon a verb of saying, see 516, II. 1.

voluptātibus: sensual pleasure.

aetātis: for senectutis.

quae . . . est: which was reported to me.

cum . . . Q. Māximō: cf. IV. 10. adulescens is in apposition with the subject of essem.

capitāliōrem:  $more\ deadly$ .  $\vec{a}$  nātūrā: see on  $a\ qua$ , II. 5.

cūius voluptātis: dependent upon avidae.

ad potiendum: sc. voluptate.

incitarentur: the mood is due to the indirect discourse. The tense conforms to that of dicebat.

40. Hinc: from this source.

impelleret: its object is homines understood. For the mood, see on
incitarentur, above. The clause also characterizes scelus and malum facinus.
 vērō: adds a still stronger statement.

flägitium: disgraceful deed; scelus means crime; facinus was primarily a deed, then it came to be taken in a bad sense, evil deed; a crime against the gods is nefas; libido differs from these words in referring to the desire, rather than to the accomplished deed.

**cumque**: and while. The clause is a continuation of the oratio obliqua. **sīve** . . . **sīve**: for the use of the disjunctives, aut, sive, vel, see **554**, II. 2, 3; 156, c; 492-497.

**41.** in . . . rēgnō : "where pleasure is king." — Shuckburgh.

quō: for the subjunctive with quo = ut eo, see 497, II. 2; 317, b; 545, 2. tantā... māxima: one excited by the greatest pleasure that could possibly be experienced. For tanta... quanta... maxima, cf. De Am. XX. 74.

tam diū, dum: so long as. Cicero has the same expression in Cat. III. 7.

nihil agitāre mente . . . posset: mens is the intellect; ratio and cogitatio refer to intellectual processes. A person, under the supposed circumstances, would lose control of his mind; he could neither reason nor reflect.

siquidem: literally, if indeed; it is about equivalent to since.

**māior**... **longīnquior**: the comparative has the force of *too*, or *very*. **locūtum**: sc. *esse*; predicate of *Archytam*.

42. Quōrsus hōc: see on V. 13.

ut intellegerētis: see on *Quia profecto*, V. 13. The imperfect is due to an implied *dicebam* or *dixi* upon which the clause *Quorsus hoc* depends.

efficeret: for the mood, see on ferrent, III. 7; for the tense, on intellegeretis, above.

ut ita dīcam: to soften the metaphor.

oculos: a rare use of oculus; acies is the regular term in this sense.

commercium: intercourse.

Invītus: see on frequens, XI. 38.

fuisset: the mood is due to eicerem.

notandam: branded. The allusion is to the nota censoria affixed to the names of those who were to be degraded in rank; see Harpers' Lat. Lex. s.v. nota, II. B. 2.

in Galliā: this means that he served in Gaul during his consulship; see on L. Flamininum, p. 80.

ut secūrī ferīret: to behead. essent: see on fuisset above.

damnātī... capitālis: condemned to death. Livy, XXXIX. 42, says the person killed was a Boian of high rank who had come with his family to ask the consul for protection.

quae: causal; equivalent to cum ea, since it.

imperī: opposed to privato. While serving as consul he represented the Roman people. The disgrace was double, affecting both the man himself and the nation.

**XIII.** 43. audīvī ex: observe a senibus, a Thessalo, and ex eo, below; the ablative with de may also be used.

sē porrō puerōs: that they in turn when boys.

esse quendam Athēnīs: that there was a certain one at Athens; the reference is to Epicurus; esse shows that he was living at the time Fabricius met Cineas.

quī sē . . . profitērētur: i.e. he was a philosopher by profession.

omnia quae facerēmus . . . referenda: all we do ought to be judged according to the standard of pleasure. faceremus takes its tense from dicebant. In English we would use the present.

optare: to express the wish.

id: id may be regarded as the accusative of extent, or as a nominative, modifying the impersonal subject of persuaderetur. See Roby 1423.

Samnītibus: the dative depending upon the verb used impersonally in the passive.

quō: see on XII. 41.

 ${\tt V\bar{i}xerat}$  . . . cum: *i.e.* Curius had been a contemporary and friend of Decius.

eundem: Decius.

Decī: in apposition with eius.

profecto: assuredly.

suā sponte: for its own sake; i.e. regardless of all external considerations.

optimus quisque: all good men; see 458, 1; 93, c; 318, 2.

44. Quōrsus: cf. XII. 42.

**Quia** . . . **quod** : quia regularly introduces a fact; quod either a fact, or a statement; see 156, f.

Caret: see on egebat, X. 31.

exstructis: heaped up, loaded with food.

 $v\bar{i}$ nulentiā . . . orūditāte . . .  $\bar{i}$ nsomni $\bar{i}$ s : drunkenness, indigestion, and sleeplessness.

Sed . . . est voluptātī: but if some concession must be made to pleasure.

quoniam: see on quia and quod, above.

dīvīnē: about equivalent to praeclare, admirably.

capiantur: the subjunctive because the reason is Plato's. modicīs . . . convīviīs: reasonable entertainments.

prīmus: was the first to; for this use of the adjective, see 442; 191; 325.7.

cēreō fūnālī: the MSS. have crebro or credo. Mommsen, following Manutius, prefers cereo, and this reading has been adopted by a number of editors. nūllō exemplō: with no precedent.

prīvātus: after the expiration of his term of office.

45. Sed . . . aliōs: sc. commemoro.

Ad mē . . . revertar: cf. X. 32.

**Prīmum**: instead of a corresponding deinde we find quoque, XIV. 46. aetātis: "belonging to that time of life"; aetas has here the force of inventus.

amīcōrum: to be taken with coetu and sermonibus.

convīvium: "a living together."

 $\textbf{tum} \ \ldots \ \textbf{tum}: \ \textit{sometimes} \ \ldots \ \textit{sometimes}.$ 

compōtātiōnem:  $\sigma \nu \mu \pi \delta \sigma \iota \sigma \nu$ . concēnātiōnem:  $\sigma \delta \nu \delta \epsilon \iota \pi \nu \sigma \nu$ . in eō genere: sc. rerum.

 ${\it id}$ : the physical part of the feast in distinction from the good-fellowship and intellectual enjoyment.

XIV. **46.** tempestīvīs...convīviīs: early banquets. The usual hour for dinner was the ninth, about three o'clock in summer, and two in winter. A tempestivum convivium began before the customary hour. These protracted banquets were often attended with over-indulgence in eating and drinking.

quoque: see on primum, XIII. 45.

quī . . . restant: of whom very few survive. For qui pauci, see 397, 2, n.; 216, e; 370, 2.

cum . . . aetāte: the abstract for the concrete; translate, with men of

quae . . . auxit . . . sustulit : the indicative states the reason simply as a fact. Note the omission of a connective between the two clauses. For the sentiment, cf. Plato, Rep. I. 328, "I find that at my time of life, as the pleasures and delights of the body fade away, the love of discourse grows upon me,"

ista: with a tone of contempt.

nē . . . videar: for the omission of the principal clause on which the final depends, see **499**, 2, n.; 317, c.

cūius . . . modus: this departs from the strict teaching of the Stoics. The force of the statement is softened by fortasse.

non . . . ne . . . quidem: ne quidem emphasizes the negation; see **553**, 2; 209, a, 1; 445.

ā summō: the following diagram shows the arrangement of the couches and the position of the guests. The cup passed from left to right, beginning a summo.

		snuuns	medius	imus		
le	imus	4	5	6	summus	
lectus summus	medius	2		8	medius	lectus imus
smuc	summus	1		9	imus	snu

adhibētur in pōculō: is carried on over the cups.

minūta atque rōrantia: small cups from which the wine is merely sipped; literally, from which it flows drop by drop.

refrīgerātiō: some editors refer this to the cooling of the wine by artificial. means; others, to the place where the banquet was held, a cool apartment, or a cool retreat. The second explanation seems to be the better one. It was common to have a dining room in the cool part of the house, for summer use; and another, exposed to the sun, and artificially heated, for occupation in winter.

quae: see on Qui, I. 3.

in Sabīnīs: sc. agris. Cato had a country estate at Tusculum, in the Sabine hills.

vīcīnōrum: in the genitive depending upon *compleo*, which, however, often takes the ablative. See **410**, V. 1; 248, c, 2, rem.; 383, 1; Draeger, Syntax, I. p. 558 (where this example is cited). Reid makes it depend upon *convivium*.

ad multam noctem: till late at night.

quam māximē possumus: emphatic expression.

47. At: see on VII. 21.

tanta . . . tītillātiō: so keen a relish. — Crowell. This is used for the Greek  $\gamma a \rho \gamma a \lambda \iota \sigma \mu \delta s$ ; quasi implies that the Latin term does not exactly translate the original; cf. Cic. N. D. I. 40, 113, quibus quasi titillatio (Epicuri enim hoc verbum est) adhibetur sensibus.

quod... dēsīderēs: for the mood, see 507, 2; 316; 593. For the force of the verb, see on egebat, X. 31.

Sophoclēs: sc. dixit.

**Dī meliōra**: God forbid! sc. duint (archaic for dent). The story is taken from Plato, Rep. I. 329.

istinc: referring to rebus veneriis.

 $agrest\overline{\imath}: wild.$ 

hōc nōn dēsīderāre: used as the subject of esse.

**48**. Quod sī: but if.

bona aetās: i.e. adulescentia, youth.

potītur: used instead of fruitur, for variety.

**Turpione Ambivio:** the cognomen is often placed before the nomen when the praenomen is omitted.

in prīmā caveā: the front seats. The term cavea applied to the whole auditorium, which was semicircular in form, and provided with ascending tiers of seats. Prima or ima, media, and summa or ultima designated the three grades of seats occupied respectively by the highest, middle, and lowest classes of citizens. There were no permanent theaters in Cato's time. Cicero's language strictly applies to his own day, and not to the supposed time of the dialogue.

propter: an adverb, close by, near at hand.

tantum . . . est: to be taken with delectatur.

49. illa: the following; explained by animum . . . vivere.

**ōtiōsā senectūte:** free from public duties; devoted to study and self-improvement.

describere: the regular term for mathematical drawing.

oppressit: surprised.

50. acūtīs: i.e. those which require acuteness of intellect.

docuisset: the manager taught the play to the actors; translate, had brought out on the stage.

processit aetate: lived on; cf. aetate processisset, VII. 21.

loquar: deliberative subjunctive.

senēs: having the force of a temporal clause.

exercērī: reflexive in force.

comparandae: can be compared. The gerundive in a negative sentence, or in a question suggesting a negative answer, has the force of possibility.

illud: that well-known. ante dīxī: in VIII. 26.

**51.** Habent . . . rationem: the subject refers to agricolarum. habere rationem is a commercial expression, to have an account with.

recūsat imperium: cf. Tac. Germ. 26, sola terrae seges imperatur.

plērumque: stands in place of a second alias.

Quamquam: see on I. 1.

vīs āc nātūra: hendiadys; the natural force.

Quae: see on qui, I. 3.

 ${\tt gremi\bar{o}}$ : note the omission of the preposition. The word is used figuratively, "in the lap of mother earth."

occaecātum: hidden from the light.

occātiō: harrowing. This is not connected with occaecatum; but comes from occare, root AC.

tepefactum: accusative; sc. semen.

vapõre: heat.

 $\textbf{diffundit} \colon \textit{it causes the seed to expand.}$ 

 ${f viriditar{a}tem}:~a~green~shoot;~{f abstract}~{f for~concrete}.$ 

fibrīs stirpium: fibers of the roots.

culmō . . . geniculātō : on its jointed stalk. vāgīnīs : translate in the singular, a sheath.

quasi pūbēscēns: as if maturing. spīcī: from spicum; limiting ordine.

**52.** commemorem: see on loquar, XIV. 50.

ut . . . noscātis: there is an ellipsis of the governing clause, "I say this," that. See on ne . . . videar, XIV. 46.

omnium quae . . . ē terrā: the Latin has no one substantive which can be used in this comprehensive sense. — Meissner.

tantulo: note the force of the diminutive and the omission of its correlative term.

procreet: subjunctive of characteristic.

**Malleolī**: mallet-shoots, so called because of the form in which they were cut.

plantae: slips, cut from the main stock. sarmenta: vine-cuttings, from the branches.

vīvirādīcēs: quick-sets; they had already taken root.

propagines: layers; branches bent to the ground and allowed to take

fertur: sinks.

eadem: this repeats the subject *vitis*, which is separated from its verb by the relative clause.

quam serpentem . . . errāticō: serpentem has about the force of a conditional clause, and if it creeps along in its irregular, winding course.

ars agricolārum: the abstract for the concrete; the skillful husbandmen.

nē . . . sarmentīs: lest it run to wood.

53. exsistit: sprouts out, springs up.

ea quae: they take their gender from gemma.

**gemma**: eye, bud. This is the original meaning of the word, and not jewel or precious stone. See Harpers' Lat. Lex. s.v.

nec . . . et: instead of nec . . . nec. Translate, it neither lacks moderate warmth nor suffers from the intense heat of the sun.

früctü laetius: richer in fruit.

capitum iugātiō: the joining of the tops, i.e. the joining of the props by a cross-bar. Some editors think the tops of the vines were joined in the form of a yoke.

religātiō: this probably refers to the fastening of the vines to the trellis formed by the uprights and cross pieces. Reid thinks the allusion is to "the tying down of the shoots to make them take root."

propagatio vitium: i.e. the cultivation by layers, propagines; see on § 52.

immīssiō: opposed to amputatio. Some branches are cut off, others are left on the vine and allowed to grow. This seems to me more correct than "engrafting," the meaning given in Harpers' Lat. Lex. Stickney refers it to the intertwining of the branches in the trellis. Long refers it to putting the ends of some shoots in the ground to let them take root.

**54.** loquar: deliberative subjunctive, as in *proferam*, above. Cf. commemorem, § 52.

stercorandī: of enriching the soil. in eō librō: entitled De Re Rustica. doctus Hēsiodus: often used of poets, like the Greek  $\sigma o \phi \delta s$ ; cf. Cic. Tusc. I. 1, 3, cum apud Graecos antiquissimum sit e doctis genus poetarum.

cum . . . scrīberet : a concessive clause.

fuit: for vixit.

lēnientem: denoting an attempted action; cf. dividenti, IV. 11.

arbustīs: groves. Vines were often trained on the trees.

rēs rūsticae: country life. pōmāriīs: orchards.

omnium: i.e. of every kind.

**XVI.** 55. Possum: I might. For the indicative where the English would use the conditional construction, see 476, 4; 311, c; 254, 1.

longiōra: too long.

provectus sum: I have been carried away.

loquācior: the comparative has the force of somewhat, or rather.

nē... vitiīs videar vindicāre: cf. ne... videar, XIV. 46, and ut... noscatis, XV. 52. Notice the alliteration.

vitiīs: defects, failings.

Ergō: on account of the delights of rural life.

triumphāsset: the subjunctive here with *cum* may be translated participially, *after triumphing*.

Cūius: see on qui, I. 3.

ā mē: from mine; i.e. from my country seat.

56. cum: when.

Poteratne . . . senectūtem: non potest non = necesse est, therefore render, Must not such a spirit, of necessity, make old age happy?— Sommerbrodt.

Sed venio: Cato returns to his subject proper.

in agrīs: in the country. Note its emphatic position.

senātōrēs . . . senēs: see on VI. 19, 20.

arantī: while plowing; emphatic by its position.

dictātōrem esse factum: as the dictator was appointed, not elected, we would expect the verb dicere instead of facere.

dictātōris: in apposition with cuius.

adpetentem: with the force of a causal clause.

occupātum: a perfect participle where the English idiom would take a verb. It may be translated anticipated. It is not, however, strictly coördinate in thought with interemit, but has in the Latin about the force of a temporal clause. Livy gives a somewhat different account of the event IV. 14. The act was in reality murder, and Ahala was afterwards placed on trial for his crime, but escaped punishment by voluntary exile.

viātōrēs: travelers, from via. They were employed by certain magistrates as messengers. Officers having both lictors and viatores used the former as personal attendants, the latter to summon the senate and to deliver other official messages. They were mostly freedmen, or of low birth. Smith's Dict. Antiq.

agrī cultione: a very rare expression for the customary agri cultura. For the other passages in which it is found, see Harpers' Lat. Lex. s.v. cultio.

haud sciō an nūlla . . . esse: I am inclined to think none can be happier. haud scio an, literally, I know not whether, often implies the probable truth of the following clause.

ad cultum . . . deōrum: referring to the fruits and victims offered in sacrifice.

ut . . . redeāmus: there is an ellipsis of the governing clause. See on ne . . . videar, XIV. 46. Observe also the similarity in sentiment in the two passages.

porcō . . . gallīnā: used collectively.

Iam: moreover.

**succīdiam alteram**: *a second flitch*, i.e. the garden was only second in importance and usefulness to the supply of salt meat, and was almost as convenient when food was needed.

Condītiōra: the employment of spare time in fowling and hunting gives a keener relish to these things.

57. praecīdam: sc. sermonem.

**ūsū** . . . **ōrnātius**: cf. fructu laetius, aspectu pulchrius, XV. 53.

ad quem fruendum: in early writers fruor was used with the accusative; for the construction in this instance, see 544, 2, n. 5; 296, rem.; 427, 5.

non modo non retardat, vērum etiam: translate, so far is old age from proving an obstacle that it even, etc.

aut . . . vel . . . ve: see on sive . . . sive, XII. 40.

58. Sibi habeant: referring to young men.

**clāvam**: the foil; made of wood and used in sword exercises. Young soldiers, specially, practiced with it against a stake (palus) set in the ground to represent an adversary.

pilam: the ball. For a full account of the various games of ball in vogue among the Greeks and Romans, see Smith's Dict. Antiq. Vol. II. s.v. pila.

tālōs . . . et tesserās: dice. The tali, ἀστράγαλοι, were originally made of bone, afterwards of metal. They were oblong, rounded at the ends and marked on four sides, 1 and 6 opposite each other and 3 and 4. Four of these were used in playing. The tesserae, κύβοι, of which three were employed in a game, were like the modern dice. For a full account of these and their

use, see Becker's Gallus, p. 499 ff.; and Smith's Dict. Antiq. Vol. II., talus and tessera.

id ipsum ut: this is the reading of several MSS. and has been adopted by H. Allen, Long, and Reid. The more common reading utrum in place of ut, is more difficult to explain. Supply faciant, and translate even in that they may do as they please.

**XVII.** 59. quī... quī: note the two relative clauses. We might expect quique in the second.

tuendā: management.

ut intellegātis: cf. ut . . . noscatis, XV. 52.

regale: worthy of a king. regale=quod regem decet; regium=quod regis est. — Meissner.

Sardīs: accusative plural, denoting the limit of motion. ā sociīs: the allies of Sparta in the war against Athens.

communem . . . humanum: courteous and kind.

consaeptum agrum: a park; a translation of the Greek παράδεισον.
proceritates: note the plural of the abstract; the height of the different

trees.

in quīncuncem: quincunx=quinque-unciae, five twelfths of a unit of weight or measure. It was used in reference to trees planted in the form of the five spots on dice, thus:—

See Harpers' Lat. Lex. s.v.

dīmēnsa: note its use in the passive, measured off.

dīscrīpta: arranged.
Atquī: and yet.

ego . . . meī . . . mea: emphatic.

purpuram: purple robe.

multō aurō: ablative of characteristic. The Persians were noted for their beautiful ornaments of gold, silver, and precious jewels.

**60.** impedit: sc. nos. The pronoun is regularly omitted when quominus with its clause follows.

perdūxisse: sc. agri colendi studia.

esset: equivalent to viveret. Its mood is due to its dependence upon perduxisse.

āctā iam aetāte: ablative absolute; with his best years already past. The more common expression is exacta aetate.

senectūtis initium: i.e. aetas seniorum. In the strict sense of the term, senectus began with the sixty-first year.

apex: used figuratively, the crowning feature. For its ordinary meaning, see Harpers' Lat. Lex. s.v. I.

**61.** illud elogium: that well-known epitaph. elogium is not equivalent to the English "eulogy," the idea of which is expressed in Latin by laudatio.

**Hunc** . . . **virum**: early inscriptions upon tombs and monuments were written in the old Saturnian measure. *populi* limits *virum*, not *gentes*.

carmen: the inscription.

 ${f cuius}$  . . .  ${f esset}$ : a causal clause in which cuius is equivalent to cum eius.

Quem virum nuper P. Crassum: Crassum is the subject of esse understood, and quem virum is the predicate accusative after it. vidimus governs two accusatives after the analogy of verbs of making, calling, and the like. nuper is used like modo in IX. 27.

praeditum: invested with.

ut . . . ante . . . Māximō: in IV. 10-12.

sententiā: a deliberate judgment expressed in the form of a set speech or vote.

honorāta: equivalent to a conditional clause. It refers to one who has held public office.

XVIII. 62. in omnī ōrātiōne: in my whole discourse.

eam: "only that."

constituta sit: for the mood, see on uteretur, I. 2.

 ${f quae}$  . . .  ${f defenderet}$ : the verb takes its tense from dixi, rather than from efficitur.

extrēmos: at the close. Influence is the final reward of old age.

63. honōrābilia: said to occur only here in good Latin.

salūtārī... cōnsulī: that men should greet us, seek after us, give us precedence, rise in our presence, accompany us on the street, escort us home at the close of day, and ask us for advice. decedi and adsurgi are used impersonally.

**mōrāta**: an adjective derived from *mos*. "In proportion as they are most highly civilized."

tantum tribuitur: is so much respect paid.

Quin etiam: nay more.

DE SENEC. - 10

lūdīs: at the time of the games. The allusion is to the great games, held every four years in the month of July, in honor of Athene, the patron goddess of Athens.

māgnō cōnsessū: ablative absolute; translate, in the great assembly.

certō in locō: seats were reserved in the theater for ambassadors and men of distinction. For the custom, see Greek Lex. s.v.  $\pi\rho\sigma\epsilon\delta\rho$  (a, the front seat at the theater.

sessum: for this use of the supine, see 546, 1; 302; 435.

64. multiplex: repeated.

dīxisse . . . quendam : depending upon proditum est, above. The indirect discourse, which was interrupted at qui, is again resumed.

collegio: the college of augurs.

antecēdit: sc. alios.

sententiae prīncipātum: "the privilege of speaking or voting first."

honore: in official position.

 ${\bf cum\ imperi\bar{o}}:$  this applies to consuls and praetors during their term of office.

comparandae: see on XIV. 50.

65. At: see on VII. 21. quaerimus: sc. verum. mõrum: character.

non illīus quidem iūstae; not sufficient indeed. quidem has a concessive force. For the use of the redundant pronoun illius with quidem, see 450, 4, n. 2; 151, e, and 195, c; 307, rem. 4.

contemnī: slighted. odiōsa: cf. II. 4.

offensio: with passive force.

bonīs: to be taken with both moribus and artibus.

in vītā: in real life. nātūra: disposition.

66. quid sibi velit: what it means.

 $\mathbf{qu\bar{o}}$  . . .  $\mathbf{e\bar{o}}$ : the . . . the.

XIX. sollicitam habēre: to keep in a constant state of anxiety. The perfect participle with habere denotes the continued effect of the action of the verb. See 388, 1, n.; 292, c; 238.

aetātem: abstract for concrete.

esse longē: equivalent to abesse longe.

quī . . . vīderit: subjunctive of characteristic.

ubi sit futurus: for the mood, see on qui . . . viderit, above.

atqui tertium ... potest: the meaning is this, "Death ends all, and therefore is not to be feared, or is the gate to immortality, and is to be desired." The author thus limits the future state to endless sleep, or eternal happiness, and omits the third alternative, a state of punishment for the wicked.

67. Quid . . . timeam: deliberative subjunctive.

Quamquam: corrective, as in I. 1.

cui: the dative of reference, and equivalent to ut ei. Translate, that he

ad vesperum: "at eventide."

aetās illa: referring to adulescens.

quod: see on qui, I. 3.

melius et prūdentius: i.e. there would be more wise old men, and they would have more influence in leading the young to live circumspectly.

Mēns . . . ratiō : cf. nihil agitare mente, XII. 41.

quī . . . nūllī: see on qui pauci, XIV. 46.

nullae . . . fuissent: cf. VI. 20.

Sed redeō: cf. X. 32.

cum . . . cum: cf. II. 4, for a similar use of the conjunction and preposition in close proximity.

68. in optimō fīliō: cf. VI. 15.

tū: sc. sensisti.

exspectātīs . . . dīgnitātem : who were expected to attain the highest honors of the state. See Harpers' Lat. Lex. s.v. exspecto, II. B.

At: cf. VII. 21.

idem: to be taken with quod

**At** . . . **At**: cf. XI. 35.

eō: so much.

ille . . . hīc: ille and hic depart from their usual meaning, the former, the latter, in order of mention. ille refers to adulescens, as more remote, and hic to senex, as nearer in thought to the speaker.

69. Quamquam: corrective, and yet; see on § 67.

aliquid extrēmum: so in II. 5.

efflüxit: cf. effluxisset, II. 4.

tantum: only so much.

 ${\tt quod}$  . . .  ${\tt c\bar{o}nsec\bar{u}tus}$   ${\tt s\bar{i}s}$  : for the mood, see 486, III. ; 311, a ; 257, 3.

et . . . et : note the polysyndeton. Cf. VI. 18, et miles et tribunus, etc.

quid sequatur: what may follow, i.e. what the future is to be.

70. modo: provided.

processerit: sapiens aetate may be supplied. Some editors, however, understand aetas as the subject.

**aestātem** . . . **vēnisse**: the object of *dolent*. See **371**, III. n. 1; 237, b; 330, rem.

tempora: seasons.

71. secundum nātūram: that it is man's duty to live in accordance with nature, was a fundamental principle in the Stoic philosophy. Cf. II. 5. ēmorī: stronger than mori.

Quod idem contingit: but this also happens.

adversante . . . nātūrā: with the force of a concessive clause.

ut cum . . . ut cum: the cum is superfluous; omit it in translating.

quasi: quasi for sicut or quemadmodum is archaic. — Meissner.

quō propius: the nearer.

accēdam: the subjunctive; see 529, II. n. 1, 1; 342; 629.

XX. 72. quoad . . . possit: so far as one (i.e. senex) may be able.

mūnus officī: this expression is found also in IX. 29. It refers to one's professional or business duties.

mortemque contemnere: regarded by some editors as a gloss.

animōsior . . . fortior: animosus means courageous, spirited, not cast down; fortis is said of one brave in the immediate presence of danger.

Hōc illud est: this is the meaning of the answer which, etc.

tandem: pray, it adds emphasis to the question.

audāciter: archaic and rare for audacter.

 ${\bf integr\bar{a}}:\ unimpaired.$ 

certīs: to be depended upon, trustworthy. The ablative absolute in each of these expressions has the force of a temporal clause.

ipsa suum eadem quae: note the grouping of pronouns.

coāgmentāvit . . . conglūtināvit: Tischer calls attention to Cicero's fondness for these metaphors, and gives examples of their use; see also Harpers' *Lat. Lex.* 

Iam: besides. It introduces another point in the argument.

reliquum: note the adjective used as a substantive, with adjective and genitive modifiers.

73. Volt . . . suīs: he wishes, I suppose, to be thought dear to his friends.

haud sciō an: see on XVI. 56.

Ennius: sc. dixerit.

Faxit: see 240, 4; 128, e, 3, and 142; 131, 4, b, 2.

**74.** Iam: see on § 72. isque: "but only."

sēnsus aut optandus . . . est: cf. this with quae aut plane neglegenda . . . optanda, XIX. 66.

meditātum: used passively. Cf. adeptam, II. 4; and dimensa, XVII. 59.

ab: from, not "by"; from youth up.

incertum an: "perhaps."

timens: the participle has the force of a conditional clause.

quī: equivalent to quo modo; see on II. 4. animō cōnsistere: to be of firm mind.

75. non ita longa: not very long.

indoctī...rūsticī: *i.e.* without training in philosophy and without the culture that easily comes to men enjoying the advantages of city life. The legions were largely recruited from the *rustici*.

76. Omnīnō: on the whole, i.e. to sum the matter up briefly.
nē... quidem: neither; less emphatic than the usual not even.

**XXI. 77.** quod: because. Some editors regard quod as a relative. cernere: i.e. to see clearly with the mental vision; it is stronger than videre.

quō ab eā propius absum: the nearer I am to it. Note the difference between the Latin and English forms of expression. The Latin emphasizes the fact of separation, even though the objects are very near each other.

vīvere: are living.

contrārium: uncongenial.

quī terrās tuērentur: to care for the world.

caelestium: of the heavenly bodies.

modō . . . constantiā: moderation and regularity.

ut ita crēderem : to this belief.

78.  $\bar{\mathbf{u}}$ nivers $\bar{\mathbf{a}}$  mente  $\bar{\mathbf{d}}\bar{\mathbf{v}}\bar{\mathbf{n}}\bar{\mathbf{a}}$ : the world-soul.

**dēlībātōs**: derived from. The soul of each man was a portion of the great world-soul.

habērēmus: it takes its tense from audiebam. In a general truth like this the English would employ the present.

quae Sōcratēs . . . disseruisset: for the mood, see 528, 1; 341, c; 628.

Sīc: explained by the following statements.

memoria . . . prūdentia : observe the chiasmus ; prudentia (providentia), foresight.

tantae scientiae: bracketed by some editors; by some taken in the genitive, limiting artes; by others, as nominative plural. scientia is rarely used in the plural, but may possibly be here because of artes and inventa. Render, so many branches of knowledge.

nātūram: being.

nē . . . quidem: see on XX. 76.

esset . . . haberet . . . posset: note the change from the present to the imperfect. Various explanations have been suggested; none of them very satisfactory. Sommerbrodt thinks such changes occur more frequently when reference is made to authors who lived in the past, but whose writings belong to the present.

māgnō . . . argūmentō: strong proof; predicate dative.

esse: its subject is the clause, quod iam pueri . . . recordari.

reminīscī... recordārī: note the distinction in meaning; the first refers to a momentary, the second, to a continued act.

Haec Platonis fere: these are in brief the arguments of Plato.

XXII. 79. Nolīte arbitrārī: for the forms of prohibition, see 489; 269, a; 271, 2.

nusquam . . . fore: the Greek is ώς οὐδέν εἰμι ἐγὼ ἔτι.

dum eram vōbīscum: so long as I was with you. Note the imperfect with dum instead of the usual present.

80. dum . . . essent: the subjunctive is due to the indirect discourse.

cum excessissent: note the adversative asyndeton.

ēmorī: see on XIX. 71.

Insipientem: unconscious; Greek ἄφρων.

sed: mihi persuasum est is to be understood from mihi... persuaderi
... potuit, above. Without supplying the ellipsis, it may be translated, but rather that.

integer: undefiled, i.e. free from contamination with the body.

sapientem: truly conscious.

cēterārum rērum: depending upon quaeque. On the propleptic use of ceterarum, see I. 3.

Iam vērō: see on iam, XVI. 56; vero adds emphasis.

**81.** Atquī: and yet; see on II. 6. futūrī sint: they are destined to be.

est interitūrus: for the force of the periphrastic form, see futuri sint, above.

hanc . . . pulchritūdinem : this beautiful universe.

tuentur: cf. XXI. 77.

**servābitis**: for the future indicative instead of the imperative, see **487**, 4; 269, f; 272, 1, b.

XXIII. 82. patrem . . . Paulum : cf. VI. 15.

duōs avōs . . . patruum: cf. IX. 29.

multōs: sc. alios.

esse conatos: instead of conaturos fuisse; cf. suscepturum fuisse, below. In the direct discourse, two constructions are admissible, — non conati essent nisi crevissent, and the less common non conabantur nisi cernerent. The indirect esse conatos corresponds to the direct conabantur. See 527, III. and n. 2, 1; 337, b, 2, and 308, b; 659, n., and 254, 3.

pertinēre: cf. VII. 24.

An cēnsēs: cf. An eis, VI. 15.

aliquid: cognate accusative with glorier; cf. idem, X. 32.

susceptūrum fuisse: see on esse conatos, above.

aetātem: equivalent to vitam.
nēsciō quō modo: in some way.

quasi . . . vīctūrus esset: cf. this sentiment with vivere arbitror . . . nominanda, XXI. 77.

excessisset: attracted into the subjunctive by victurus esset.

ut animī... essent: for this result clause in apposition with quod (= et id), see **501**, III.; 332, f; 553, 4.

83. Quid: see on VIII. 26.

quī . . . cernat . . . cūius . . . sit: for the mood, see on uteretur, I. 2. ad meliōra: to a better life.

Equidem efferor: for my own part I am carried away.

patrēs vestrōs: cf. § 82. Quō: equivalent to ad quos.

retrāxerit: potential subjunctive; see 311; Roby, 1536, 1540.

**sī**... **largiātur**: note the present in a condition, really impossible, but regarded as possible, for the sake of the argument; see **509**, n. 2; 596, rem. 1.

ut . . . repuerāscam : the object of *largiatur*. quasi dēcursō spatiō : cf. spatio supremo, V. 14.

**84.** Sed habeat sānē: sc. aliquid commodi; concessive subjunctive, but the concessive particle is omitted.

et eī doctī: and that, too, philosophers. Cf. doctus, XV. 54.

quod contrā: whereas on the contrary. - Reid.

meum: sc. cremari.

quō: equivalent to ad quae; cf. § 83.

 $\mathbf{X}^{2}$ 

non quo: not because.

ferrem: for the mood, see 516, II. 2; 341, rem.; 541, 2.

85. dīxistī: in II. 4.

I 2 satis diana

quī: causal; equivalent to cum ego.

minuti: petty. He refers to the Epicureans, and thinks them of little

account in comparison with Socrates and Plato.

nihil sentiam: I shall be unconscious. quae dīcerem: a final clause; see Roby, II. 1632.

## VARIATIONS FROM THE TEXT OF MÜLLER.

Müller dione satis

1.	z saus digne	Muner,	uigne saus.
II.	4 adeptam	4.6	adepti.
II.	5 descriptae	"	discriptae.
IV.	10 plusque	"	postque.
v.	14 suasissem. Annos	"	suasi. Sed annos.
VI.	18 modo; Karthagini male	4.6	modo Karthagini cui male.
VI.	20 percontantibus in Ludo	o "	percontantur† ut est in
	respondentur		Ludo;
IX.	28 composita	4.6	compta.
XI.	35 morbum	4.4	morborum vim.
XIV.	49 Videbamus	6.6	†Mori videbamus.
XVI.	56 quam dixi	66	de qua dixi.
XVI.	58 ipsum ut lubebit		ipsum utrum lubebit.
CVII.	59 communem	6.6	comen.
VIII.	64 nostro	"	vestro.
XIX.	68 quoniam	6.6	quod.
XIX.	70 sapientibus	66	sapienti.
XIII.	82 ullo labore et	66	ullo aut labore aut.
XIII.	85 defatigationem	66	defectionem.

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